

Handwritten note: July 1982

PEOPLE

Herald Tribune

WEATHER — PARIS: Thursday, foggy, fair later.
14-21. LONDON: Thursday, foggy, fair later.
41-51. CHAMBERS: Shift to moderate, Rome:
cloudy, Temp. 12-20 (54-68). FRANKFURT: Thurs-
day, cloudy later. Temp. 7-15 (45-59). NEW YORK:
later. Temp. 5-12 (41-54).

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Debate: Reagan on Defensive but Retains Credibility

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Service

LEVELAND — In the 90-minute debate that determined the outcome of his uphill battle for election, President Carter accomplished almost every objective except the most important one: the truce of Ronald Reagan's credibility as a political president.

Mr. Reagan used all the skills acquired in 40 years before the cameras — shrugs and smiles and easily deflected small jokes — to tell the viewers that the portrait of him that Mr. Carter was drawing, that of a weapons-prone right-winger, equally heedless of the threat of nuclear war and the aspirations of women and minorities, was a political caricature.

Mr. Reagan found himself constantly on the defensive, as a series of questions on minorities, energy and Social Security bracketed the central exchange on nuclear weapons, war and peace.

continually — that Mr. Reagan's economics were just a dressed-up version of the Republican policies of the past.

NEWS ANALYSIS

umbent repeatedly managed to work in a partial appeal to his fellow Democrats and to aim special messages at such key constituencies as blacks, Hispanics, the South and the Jews.

Mr. Reagan said that his military weapons, arms control and Social Security programs were not the 'very dangerous, disturbing' plans that President Carter said they were.

Mr. Caddell said that Mr. Carter's message was aimed at specific constituencies in the debate audience — particularly the "college-educated, Democratic-inclined women, who are unhappy about the economic squeeze of the past four years but nervous about Reagan's views on war and women's rights."

Backlash Danger

This tactic may have been dictated by the obvious danger of an anti-Carter backlash if he further personalized the assault. But from the perspective of the Reagan camp, it almost guaranteed that their most precious commodity — Mr. Reagan's personal credibility as a potential president — would survive the encounter intact.

Reagan, Carter Debate Stands in Weapons, SALT, Economy

By Adam Clymer
New York Times Service

LEVELAND — President and Ronald Reagan each in a 90-minute debate Tuesday to reinforce the dominance of eight weeks of electoral campaigning.

statements contradicted his present policy.

can then asserted that military force should be used only as a last resort and then only when the security of the United States was at stake.

President Carter greets Ronald Reagan before the start of their only debate of the campaign.

Early Poll After Debate Indicates Gains for Both

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — President and Ronald Reagan made about equally equal gains in the long-awaited contest, an exclusive poll by the Associated Press said.

those who generally agreed with Mr. Reagan thinking he did the best job while Mr. Carter scored highest with those who found him well informed and in agreement with their views.

Khalkhali Says Action Imminent

Public Session Set on Hostages

By Patrick Worsnip
Reuters

TEHRAN — Signs emerged Wednesday that Iran's parliament was moving toward agreement on terms for releasing the 52 American hostages, although another long secret session of the assembly failed to produce a decision.

ing with members of the parliament's foreign affairs panel. No details of their deliberations were immediately available, and the commission's report to the Majlis, presented Sunday, has not yet been released.

Polish Leaders To Meet With Kremlin Chiefs

By John Darnton
New York Times Service

WARSAW — Stanislaw Kania, the Communist Party leader, and Premier Jozef Pielowski will go to Moscow Thursday in negotiations with Soviet leaders one day before a crucial negotiating session with Poland's independent union, it was announced Wednesday night.

CIA Ex-Agent Pleads Guilty To Spy Charge

BALTIMORE — Former CIA agent David Barnett pleaded guilty Wednesday to selling U.S. secrets to the Russians in what is believed to be the deepest known Soviet penetration of the CIA.

INSIGHTS

Today's Insights page concentrates on the upcoming U.S. elections, glancing at President Carter's impact on foreign affairs, examining expected results of Congressional races and focusing on the on-going election campaign. Page 6.

INSIDE

False Alerts

A new U.S. Congressional report discloses that the North American Defense Command experienced 147 false alarms during a recent 18-month period that were serious enough to require an evaluation of whether they represented a potential attack. Four more alarms, including two that had not been disclosed previously, were considered even more serious and resulted in orders to B-52 bomber crews and later continental ballistic missile units to move to a higher state of alert. Page 3.

Supreme Soviet: Where Surprises Bore

Showcase of Unanimous Democracy Is Heavy on Economic Heroism

By R.W. Apple
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Supreme Soviet does not meet often — usually two sessions a year, lasting two or three days each — and it is a good thing. Otherwise, some of the 1,500 deputies might die of boredom.

False Alerts of Nuclear Attacks Occur Frequently at U.S. Bases

By Richard Halloran

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A congressional report has disclosed that the American Defense Command experienced 147 false alarms in a recent 18-month period serious enough to require attention of whether they indicated a potential attack.

More alarms, including at least one that was disclosed, were considered even more serious and resulted in orders for bomber crews and intercontinental ballistic missile units to a higher state of alert.

Of the two occurred when a submarine near the Kurile Islands north of Japan, fired four torpedoes in a training exercise. That was the report called "unsubstantiated." Another occurred when a radar station in the North Sea picked up a rocket body that was falling and dropping from

In addition, the report said that 3,703 lesser alarms caused by atmospheric and other disruptions took place during the period, which ended June 30, 1980. They were routinely assessed and dismissed.

Equipment Failures

The report also quoted Air Force officials as saying that equipment failures two or three times a year caused false alarms like the two previously known. In one, in June, a bad chip in a communications device generated false signals of attack. In the other, last November, a technician inadvertently fed a training tape into the live warning system.

The report from the Senate Armed Services Committee, written by Sens. Gary Hart, D-Colo., and Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., focused on the false alarm in June but provided a wider perspective on other false alarms.

The senators urged in their report that the missile warning operation, known as NORAD, be reorganized to reduce the responsible Air Force commands from four to one. They also recommended that red tape be eliminated from the procurement of data-processing equipment. Otherwise, they said, "delays and technical obsolescence are guaranteed."

But, the senators concluded: "We should continue to keep separate the operational responsibility for determining if the nation is under attack and assessing the nature of the attack from the responsibility of responding to an attack."

Largest Number

The report on the false alarms in the missile warning unit disclosed that there have been far more such alarms than revealed previously.

The largest number, 3,703 alarms, were caused when the infrared sensors in satellites over the Soviet Union picked up from the earth's surface or the atmosphere indications other than those from a missile. They included fuel-tank explosions, airplane crashes, forest fires, sun flares and similar atmospheric disturbances.

The 147 more serious alarms were caused by Soviet training or experimental missile launches toward North America that had to be watched. Air Force duty officers at NORAD headquarters in Colorado, at the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command in Omaha, at the National Military Command Center in the Pentagon and the alternate command center in nearby Maryland, convened conferences by telephone "to evaluate detections that were possibly threatening to the North American continent," the report said.

They ended when the commanding officer at NORAD determined the absence of a real threat, as the missiles had either the range nor the direction to hit anything. But in four more cases, the alarm went to the next level that brought in more senior people, such as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and alerted bomber and missile units.

Exact Trajectory

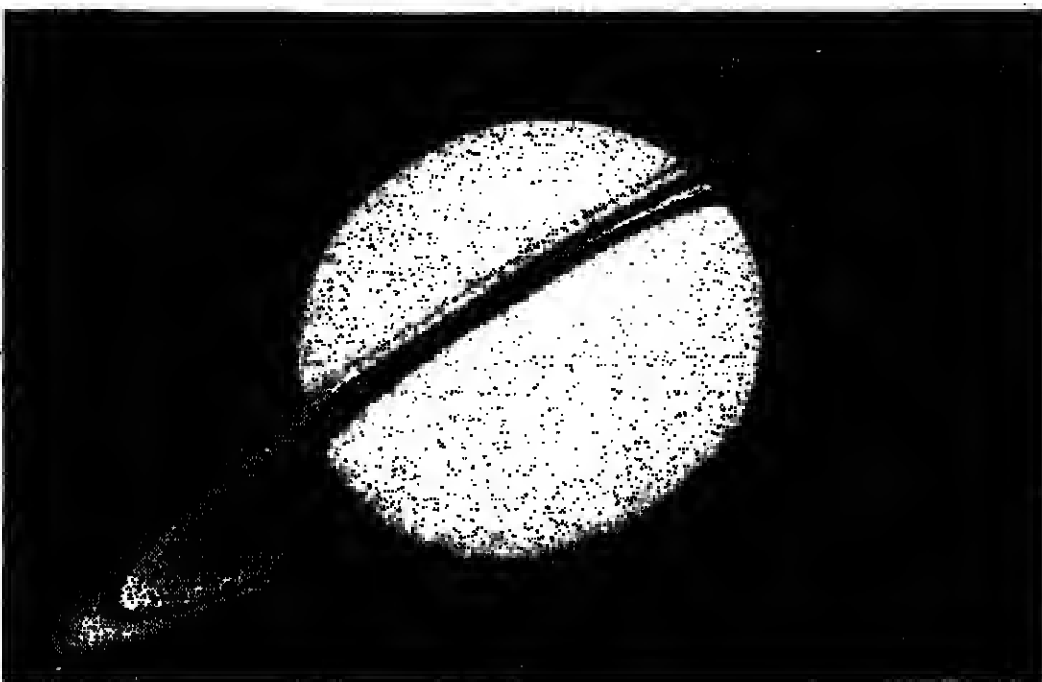
In March, a Soviet submarine taking part in training near the Kurile Islands fired four SSN-6 missiles, which can carry nuclear warheads 1,500 to 1,800 miles.

That triggered what the report called "an unusual threat fan." Air Force officials said that meant the incoming data showed an errant or erratic launch that had to be monitored until the exact trajectory of the missiles could be determined.

In the other previously undisclosed incident, a radar station on Mount Hebo in Oregon, watching for ballistic missiles launched from Soviet submarines, picked up "a low orbit rocket body that was close to decay and generated a false launch and impact report."

Air Force officials said that the Mount Hebo station, since replaced by a more modern system in California, was not equipped to recognize the falling rocket. But once the information was transmitted to NORAD, which tracks all space vehicles, computers there reported what it was.

The last stage of alert, the report said, "is to convene a missile attack conference which brings in all senior personnel, including the president. No such conference has ever been convened."



Voyager took this photo of Saturn Oct. 18, when the craft was 21.1 million miles from the planet.

Scientists Study Voyager Photographs

Saturn Moons Seen on Collision Course

By Thomas O'Toole

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Voyager spacecraft has discovered that two moons in the same orbit around the planet are on a collision course with each other.

"They are about 48 kilometers apart right now with the one at the rear closing on the other," Dr. Bradford Smith of the University of Arizona told a news conference at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration this week.

"Now we know they can't be colliding because they've been around for such a long time but in about two years they'll be about 2 kilometers apart and we should witness a very interesting interaction."

Besides finding the two moons on a collision course, Voyager also discovered two new moons in orbit around Saturn and dozens of new divisions between the planet's two biggest rings that had never been seen before. While scientists are not calling them new rings, the discovery suggests that the six known rings of Saturn will have to be re-counted in the weeks ahead.

Will Fly Past Nov. 12

These discoveries were made in the last 10 days through pictures taken by Voyager-1, which on Monday was 12,863,000 miles from Saturn and approaching the planet at 45,000 miles an hour. The spacecraft is due to fly past Saturn

at a distance of 77,000 miles on Nov. 12.

One of the two new moons found by the approaching Voyager is 77,000 miles out from the planet, the other is 148,000 miles out. Both are small and are located just inside and outside the so-called "F" or sixth ring of the planet, which was discovered in September, 1979, by the Pioneer-11 spacecraft. The discovery of the two new moons gives Saturn 14 moons, placing it a close second to Jupiter (16 moons) for most moons in the solar system.

The finding that two of the 14 moons are on a collision course surprised Voyager scientists more than any of the other discoveries. First sighted by earthbound telescopes in 1968, the two moons were thought to be in the same orbit but hundreds of thousands of miles apart.

Dr. Smith said there must be a mechanism to explain why the two moons do not collide but that scientists are baffled as to what it

must be. He speculated that as the two moons get closer and closer together, the leading moon might lose some of its orbital energy at the same time the trailing moon picks up orbital energy. This would lower the orbit of the leading moon and raise the orbit of the trailing moon just enough for the two moons to be involved in a near-miss.

'A Little Dance'

"It might be that the moons exchange orbits," Dr. Smith said. "When they get real close, they do a little dance and go on by each other."

Besides taking closeups of Saturn and its dazzling rings, Voyager will get the most detailed photographs ever taken of at least 8 of Saturn's 14 moons. Starting on Nov. 11, the spacecraft will pass less than 700,000 miles from the moons Mimas, Rhea, Dione, Enceladus, Tethys and Hyperion.

On Nov. 11, Voyager will pass less than 3,000 miles from the surface of Titan, the largest of Saturn's moons and the only moon in the solar system that has an atmosphere thicker than that of some planets. Titan is known to have an atmosphere that is 150 miles thick and is believed to consist mostly of methane, which on the Earth is natural gas. So deep is the haze above Titan that scientists are not sure they will be able to see the moon's surface.

Fires Near Los Angeles

United Press International

YORBA LINDA, Calif. —

Brushfires northwest and southeast of Los Angeles, fanned by winds gusting to 60 mph, burned nearly 20,000 acres this week, killing livestock, injuring at least two firefighters and threatening hundreds of homes.

Public Support Uncertain

S. Korean Leader Faces Bumpy Road for Reforms

By Henry Scott Stokes

New York Times Service

TOKYO — With the promulgation of a new South Korean constitution that was approved by more than 90 percent of the voters in a national referendum, President Chun Doo Hwan has the opportunity to lead his country on the road to democracy.

But seasoned diplomats and Koreans say it is unclear whether Gen. Chun, a 49-year-old army officer who became head of state in August, can consolidate his regime with broad-based public backing in the critical months ahead.

"South Korea is like a great pot of hot water," an older Korean commented in Seoul last week. "It is very close to the boil, and you can just see the bubbles forming at the edge of the pot."

Gen. Chun's program calls for this timetable:

- An immediate prohibition on the political parties left over from the 18-year tenure of the late President Park Chung Hee, to be followed shortly by the permanent disqualification of most of the members of the former National Assembly from any role in politics.

- The formation of new political groups by the end of the year under a timetable written into the charter that calls for the parties to be set up three months before the presidential election due next March.

- A vote for the new president by an electoral college of 5,000 members, who are to be chosen by direct popular ballot and may identify themselves by party affiliation. They are not required to be nonpolitical, as were the electors under the 1972 Constitution adopted under Park.

Rush Program

The rush program "to plant the tree of democracy," as a South Korean official phrased it, appears ambitious and likely to run into difficulty.

The first step, eliminating the old parties and most politicians, should not be difficult. The president established and selected a 50-member legislative council to draft and approve new laws.

Barely a score of the old members of the 231-seat Assembly are expected to survive this harsh scrutiny, intended by Gen. Chun and key army officers to root out corruption and to give them a free hand in influencing the choice of legislators. The new council, sitting

in the massive National Assembly building, will function until after parliamentary elections due in mid-1981.

The second step, forming political parties, is also well within Gen. Chun's powers. Under martial law and strong press guidance and censorship, he and his officials, including a small group of staff colonels he took with him from the army into the presidential team, have what amounts to a free hand in deciding how many parties there will be and who will lead them.

Political Parties

There are expected to be several parties, according to Korean sources, including one that is explicitly in favor of Gen. Chun for 1981, another that is broadly supportive and an opposition party that will line up behind a presidential candidate yet to be identified but likely to be weak.

To build the party system will require the cooperation of a new generation of legislators, a set of fresh faces, but it should not be hard to find them.

The difficulties start at the third stage: the elections. Many Koreans and diplomats believe that if, as the new charter stipulates, Gen. Chun is to respect human rights, including habeas corpus and freedom of the press, and if he is to allow free debate, as he has appeared to promise, he risks unleashing widespread criticism of his own recent past.

There is also considerable questioning of how Gen. Chun could risk free discussion of the case of the opposition leader Kim Dae Jung, who has been charged with fomenting the Kwangju revolt although he was in prison 100 miles away the day before the riots began. Mr. Kim was sentenced to death by court-martial; his appeal has started in a higher military court.

Despite press censorship, word of the treatment given to Mr. Kim in prison has begun to filter down to the public.

The new constitution outlaws torture or the use of confessions extracted by maltreatment in prison — the only evidence offered against Mr. Kim and 23 co-defendants at a trial in which the prosecution did not summon a witness.

Whatever the outcome of Mr. Kim's appeal, the case is likely to have an effect on Gen. Chun's efforts to gain the support necessary to carry through his program under the new constitution.

Report Assails U.S. Agency Over Air Traffic Control

By Richard Witkin

New York Times Service

YORK — The Federal Aviation Administration has severe criticism in a congressional report for its management of the nation's computerized air traffic control system and for its failure to replace the system that would replace one in about 1990.

Investigations staff finds FAA has not done an effort of managing the current computerized air-traffic system, the 94-page report released Tuesday, said.

The report cited a number of weaknesses in the system, including lack of equipment, lack of a unified approach to management, and lack of a unified approach to management. The report cannot be certain the current system will operate that will assure the air of the traveling public until a replacement system is in place.

Backup Capability

A list of nine primary recommendations, the report urged the FAA to "give top priority to developing an adequate backup capability for the current system."

The report also recommended that the FAA develop a backup system that is built around 23 centers which controllers issue instructions to planes flying "terminal" or airport. Different radars and computer complexes are used by controllers in handling traffic immediately takeoff and shortly before landing.

The need for a better backup has been brought out in reports by frequent computer outages, which require controllers to use a manual system that was forced as the primary system. The current electronic backup has technical problems, delaying being put into effect for months.

The committee also recommended that the FAA develop a backup system that is built around 23 centers which controllers issue instructions to planes flying "terminal" or airport. Different radars and computer complexes are used by controllers in handling traffic immediately takeoff and shortly before landing.

Rome to Copy Michelangelo's Palace Doors

United Press International

ROME — Monumental wooden doors designed by Michelangelo for Rome's Palace of the Senators, irreparably damaged by a terrorist bomb blast 18 months ago, will be replaced by modern copies, city officials said Tuesday.

The nine-foot-wide oak doors on the main facade of the building, which serves as Rome's city hall, were blown off their hinges in a bombing in April, 1979. The Armed Revolutionary Nuclei, a neo-Fascist group, claimed responsibility for the blast, which also destroyed Renaissance masonry work around the building's main portal and shattered windows in the adjacent Capitoline Museum and Palace of the Conservators on Capitol Hill.

Mayor Luigi Petroselli said Tuesday that teams trying to reconstruct the doors had given up, declaring the job impossible. The mayor said new doors would be built, copying the design of Michelangelo.

U.S. Studies Solar Project For Marshall Islands Atoll

By Robert Trumbull

New York Times Service

HONOLULU — A plan under study by the U.S. government would make the displaced people of Bikini, the Marshall Islands atoll chosen as a site for nuclear testing 34 years ago, the first completely solar-powered community in the Pacific, if not the world, when they are resettled on another island near their abandoned radioactive homeland.

Most of the Bikinians, whose number has grown from 167 to 950 since they were evacuated from the atoll by the Navy in 1946, are on Kili, an isolated island in the Marshalls chain 400 miles south of their ancestral home.

The solar project, part of a broader emergency program for U.S.-administered Pacific islands, which have been hard hit by rising oil prices, is in legislation introduced by Sen. Spark Matsunaga, D-Hawaii, and backed by the Department of the Interior, which is responsible for the islands. Under the plan the solar units would be installed on Eneu, an island in the Bikini atoll where the government has offered to resettle the displaced Marshallese.

The leaders of the Kili community told U.S. officials this month that they were in favor of accepting the offer, but a decision has been delayed pending a new check of radiation levels on Eneu, six miles south of Bikini. Government scientists have certified that the island is safe for human habitation.

"I can think of no site more fitting for introducing into the Pacific basin a new energy foundation nor any people more deserving of playing that role than the islands and people that have suffered the most from these devastating demonstration projects that initiated the nuclear age," Sen. Matsunaga said.

U.S. Company

A U.S. company, ARCO Solar, surveyed energy possibilities in the Marshalls recently at the senator's suggestion.

Bikini and the other 33 islands

and atolls of the Marshalls chain are administered by the United States as part of the UN Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, also known as Micronesia.

The Carter administration hopes to end the trusteeship next year under a new status of free association with the United States. The proposal, which would divide the islands and atolls into three self-governing states under U.S. protection, is being negotiated with the Micronesians. A fourth group, the Northern Marianas, has opted to become a commonwealth of the United States like Puerto Rico.

The Senate Appropriations Committee has approved a measure, also introduced by Sen. Matsunaga, to test the feasibility of adding sails of an advanced design developed in Japan to the government's island fleet of small ships to save fuel. The measure proposes \$300,000 for a 55-foot cargo vessel, using sail and diesel power, for the people of Eniwetok atoll, another former testing site of the Marshalls. The islanders are being returned after a \$100-million cleanup of radioactivity.



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Person Jailed Bomb Charge

The Associated Press

YORK — Cathlyn Wilkerson, a 35-year-old woman, was sentenced to a year in prison for a bomb charge. She was found guilty of conspiring to blow up a building in New York City. The judge said she was "a violent and revolutionary" person.

The Big Debate

The long-awaited debate between President Carter and Ronald Reagan was dull theater, but as politics, it was fascinating and it matters. Since it was held with only a week to go in the campaign and as much as 25 percent of the popular vote not firmly committed, it is bound to have a substantial, if not decisive impact on the outcome of the election. Winning the debate can mean only one thing — getting the soft vote. Both candidates developed strategies to do that. And both succeeded in leaving some of the grosser clichés of the campaign by the wayside.

Mr. Carter, for example, by comparison with Mr. Reagan, managed to look quite presidential. He was composed, articulate, serious, but not totally humorless, and although he has terrible difficulties pronouncing the word "nuclear," neither his voice nor his accent detracted much from the image. Mr. Reagan, by comparison with the president, did not appear especially dimwitted. He had some facts and figures at his command — fewer than Mr. Carter, but enough to make the point — his arguments were consistent and he did not blunder.

Mr. Carter did not appear mean-spirited or petty. When he was asked by Barbara Walters to criticize his opponent, he began with an atypical but appropriate light touch: "Reluctant as I am to say anything critical about Governor Reagan..." earned the biggest laugh of the debate from the audience. By contrast, Mr. Reagan, the old pro, seemed a bit uncomfortable and one or two of his prepared quips were rather awkwardly shoe-horned in.

Mr. Carter seemed more adept at keeping the focus on the issues that he believes will help him, especially war and peace, an area in which Mr. Reagan has been on the defensive. To attract uncommitted voters, the former governor of California needs to dispel the notion that he is too belligerent, inexperienced and lacks the judgment to be trusted with the button. It is not certain that he did that, but he projected a sufficiently responsible image so that the impression was probably not reinforced.

Mr. Reagan criticized Mr. Carter effective-

ly on his management of the economy, but in this case, for the most part, he was probably preaching to the converted. He made his most telling point in his final remarks when he asked, "Are you and your family and your country better off than you were four years ago?" The president's defense of his economic record consisted of an attack on Mr. Reagan's proposals, including the 30 percent Kemp-Roth tax reduction, which he labeled as "ridiculous."

But Mr. Carter also invoked the Democratic Party and its traditions to suggest that his policies would show more concern for working people. Despite his administration's record — Gov. Reagan referred to a "misery index," which combines the inflation and unemployment rates, of more than 20 percent — the president was persuasive in projecting his concern. Mr. Reagan may well have scored some debating points on a number of questions having to do with the inner cities, the minimum wage and social security, but the president created an impression of greater compassion.

Mr. Carter found ways to attack Mr. Reagan on the issue of nuclear nonproliferation and he used his answer on the same question on terrorism to try and reassure Jewish voters that his commitment to Israeli security is firm. But with the exception of SALT, the debate was devoid of any real foreign policy discussion. Both candidates apparently concluded, as their recent campaigning has indicated, that there are only two issues that matter — war and peace and the economy.

But issues aren't all that matter. If they were, there wouldn't be large numbers of undecided voters less than a week from election day. The debate demonstrated once again that there are significant differences between the two men on the issues. The question that remains for most of those who have yet to make up their minds is competence. Irrespective of how they do it, who can keep the country out of war and who can bring down inflation and unemployment?

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

End of the Fiat Strike

Italy began this month without a government, the previous one having fallen in an attempt to tighten its economic policy. Meanwhile, an angry strike was under way at the huge Fiat automobile plant in Turin, over layoffs and reassignments. In both cases the causes were essentially the same — the slowing of the European economy following last year's oil crisis.

The slowdown continues, but the Fiat strike came to a curious and unexpected end a couple of weeks ago. Not unrelated to it, a new government has now taken office committed to a program of stringency very similar to its predecessor's. One prominent loser was the Communist Party. The Italian Communists seem to do well in times of rising prosperity, and less well in national adversity.

Fiat, Italy's largest privately owned company, wanted to lay off some 14,000 employees for the same reason that the U.S. automobile companies have laid off several hundred thousand. The market for cars is in a recession around the world. But layoffs are not an accepted fact of industrial life in Italy, and the strike had gone on for five weeks. The Communists were vehemently urging the unions to stand fast.

Then, one day in mid-October, 40,000 Fiat employees and their supporters marched through Turin demanding the right to go

back to work. It was the ultimate repudiation of both their own union leadership and, of course, the Communists. A court ruled that employees were entitled to police protection if they wanted to go into the plant. Mumbling something about a desire to avoid violence, the unions hastily settled for the best they could get. It's a decent outcome. Some layoffs will be delayed. Some automobile workers are going on a state-subsidized furlough for a year while Fiat retools for its new models and hopes for a recovery in auto sales. It wasn't a defeat for labor, but for an ideological crusade.

The fortunes of the Italian Communists have been in a state of gradual decline for the past two years. On the left, the original diagnosis was that the party had become too bourgeois and too addicted to middle-class respectability. But the Fiat affair is at least a suggestion that the resort to radical industrial action is not necessarily going to improve the party's standing.

A few days after the march in Turin, the new government took office in Rome. Like just about every other government in the industrial world, it is committed to a renewed attempt to reduce the inflation rate. There's a sign of hope for it in the way the Fiat strike came to an end.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

International Opinion

No Compromise in Kampuchea

The [Chinese] insistence that [Vietnamese] military withdrawal from Kampuchea must precede any political settlement may look like attachment to principle. It is certainly no help towards a compromise.

Only a shift in China's position might encourage the Vietnamese to be more open-minded about elections in Kampuchea in a way that would earn Asean's (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) approval. But China's insistence on military withdrawal as a priority will undoubtedly be interpreted in Hanoi as an intention to go on backing the Khmer Rouge guerrillas as a fighting force and not merely as one among other political elements in Kampuchea's future.

In other words, the senseless fighting will go on, with another dry season offensive now in the offing. All the same, Asean will go on

trying and Western support for their efforts should not be relaxed.

— From The Times (London).

On the U.S. Hostages

If the U.S. hostages are set free, the United States will resume trade relations with Tehran. Jet fuel and military spare parts will stop the shopping list. Iran — probably next spring — will have a chance to reverse the tide of battle. That can be presented as a stab in the Sunni back, a macabre example of superpower machination. Iraq's friends in the Gulf — and Europe — may be vehement in their anger. But President Carter, to be fair, has always stressed his fervent desire to end Iran's isolation. His aim — and the West's true aim — is the establishment of benign trade relations with whoever happens to hold power in the country.

— From The Guardian (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

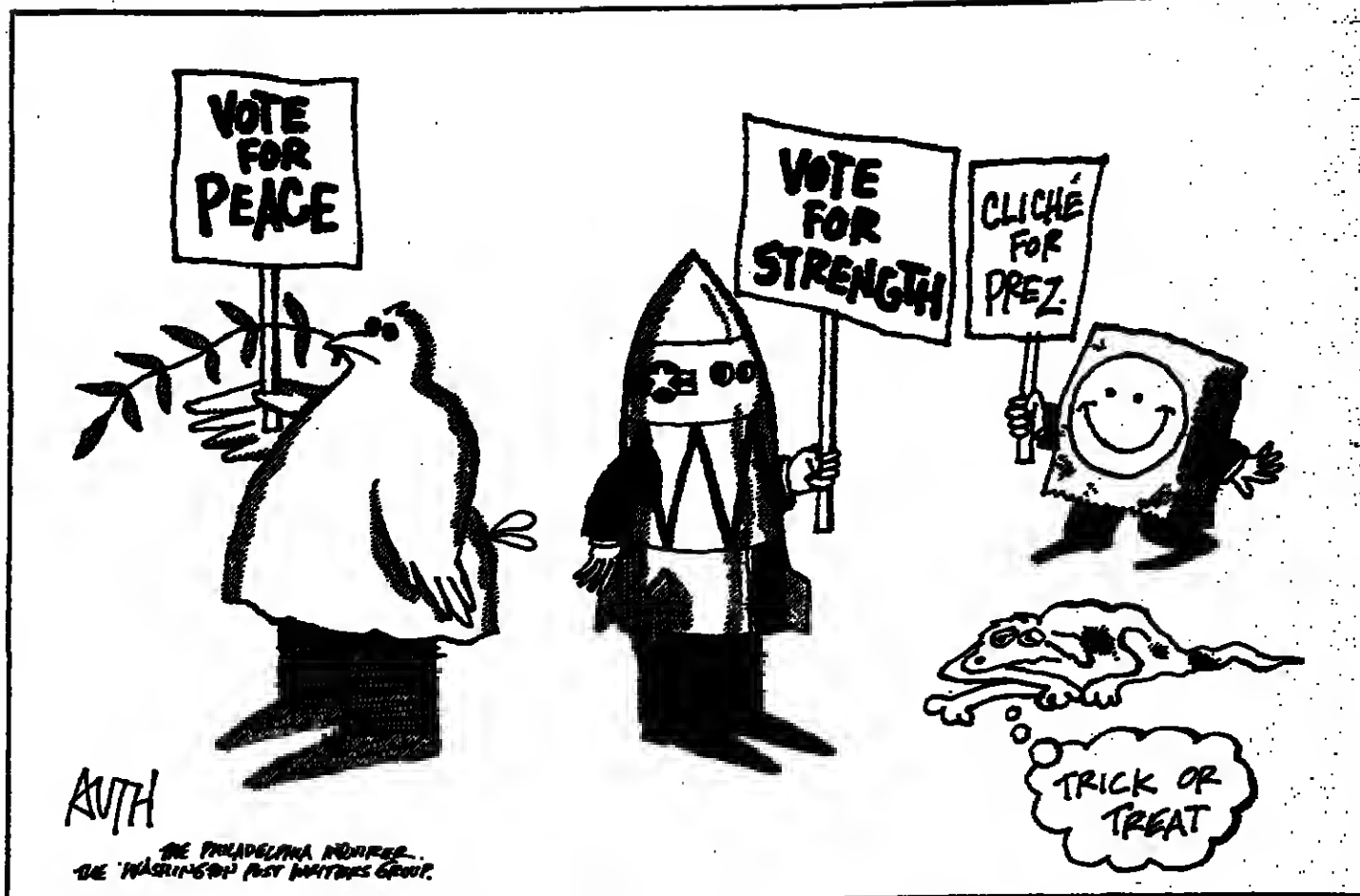
October 30, 1905

LONDON — An editorial in the Daily Telegraph observes: "We cannot imagine Russia without a czar and without a czar of the present dynasty. To the millions, who profess to call themselves Russians, the czar is the only emblem of unity and nationality. Bureaucracy is doomed and if autocracy were destroyed nothing would remain but a sort of isolated provincial patriotism, which would reduce the Russian Empire to the position of South America. Such a result would be ruinous for Russia and disastrous for Europe. It ought to be the fervent prayer of Europe that Nicolas II will recognize and pursue the path that duty marks out for him."

Fifty Years Ago

October 30, 1930

RIO DE JANEIRO — Revolutionary leaders headed by Gen. Jurez Tavora, who arrived here today by airplane from Bahia, announce that they have agreed to place the presidency in the hands of Dr. Getulio Vargas when he makes his triumphant entry from Sao Paulo tomorrow. He is likely to organize a Cabinet immediately. Police continue to arrest former government leaders and politicians whose activities probably will be investigated as soon as Dr. Vargas obtains power. The political prisoners are being treated well, reports say, and only former President Washington Luis, a prisoner in Copacabana fortress, is forbidden communication with friends.



Debating Game: No Fatal Mistakes

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The Tuesday night presidential debate was a little like a dramatic professional football game before a vast television audience, with both sides hoping for the long winning touchdown and fearing the disastrous fumble.

There was neither. There were no winning touchdowns or fatal turnovers. It was a courteous and civilized debate, but Ronald Reagan probably came out of it better than when he went in. He had been condemned as an amiable old man who couldn't argue the intricacies of foreign or domestic policy, but at least he held his own against Jimmy Carter's superior mastery of the facts. In that sense, with the popularity polls sliding against him, he did a little better than a scoreless tie.

Frank R. Kent of The Baltimore Sun once wrote a book called "The Great Game of Politics," but politics these days is no game and is certainly not great. The rules are strict in pro football. Not so in politics. In this debating game, the object is not so much how to fool the opposition as how to fool the public. The decisive thing is not whether the game plan for the next four years is sound, but whether it is popular at the moment.

No Whistles

The reporters are supposed to be the umpires in these debates, but they have no whistles. It would be quite different if the League of Women Voters or some other private institution representing the national interest defined the questions for decision in the coming years, and then selected the questioners.

But that's not the way it was in Cleveland. The league suggested at the end of long negotiations 22 possible questioners. But Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan had a veto over questioners they didn't want — which is no criticism of the questioners they agreed upon, but it raises the issue of whether the candidates should be free to pick the umpires and whether the media should be part of this game.

Even so, there is something to be said for such debates between the leading candidates at the end of the campaign. They have been going their separate ways for two years, usually speaking to carefully limited and selected audiences where they can get regional TV coverage and try to look popular on the national network evening news.

The TV Game

In this sense, presidential politics is a "game" — the television game. The candidates have learned how to use the Sunday morning national television shows for free publicity, and they do it very cleverly, often not really "facing the nation," or "meeting the press," or confronting the issues with answers, but evading them all.

Likewise, the presidential "press conference" is no longer what it was supposed to be, and maybe never was — a regular accounting by the president to the questions reporters thought were on the public mind. It is now a somewhat thing, chosen by the president when he can't avoid it, or feels he can exploit it for his own purposes.

At least, the presidential debate is none of these things. It brought the candidates together in a sort of town meeting of the nation when the people were watching and many of them were even listening — more people than are likely to vote.

Judging Character

This is important, but what does it mean? There are some things the mass of the people can do. They are fairly good at judging character when they get a chance, which isn't often. They can usually distinguish between wit and wisdom in open debate. But there are some things they cannot do.

For example, they cannot pass judgment on the most intricate questions now facing the winner of this election: They can long for the liberation of the hostages in Iran but cannot calculate the consequences of backing Iran against Iraq and defending the nation's future Mideast interests.

They can shake their fists at the Soviet Union and insist that the United States be "No. 1" in military power, but they haven't a clue about what this would cost, or what it would do to the rest of the

budget, or even if we could afford an endless arms race.

The people can complain about prices and unemployment, with good reason, and reject the remedies proposed by both Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan, but in the end they cannot decide but have to trust and choose. Maybe the debate in Cleveland helped them decide.

Political Pole

It is allowed in the United States to criticize everybody but the people — particularly to condemn everybody who comes forward to try to lead us through our problems

and especially those who get to the top of this slippery political pole.

But the people chose Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan in a more democratic process and with more votes than ever before, and it could be that their judgment is as good as the people's — maybe even a little better. What is clear is that the United States is now in trouble not because of the Russians or Ayatollah Khomeini or anyone else overseas, but right here at home.

The Ford Motor Co. lost \$595 million and General Motors \$567 million in the third quarter of 1980. The U.S. economy is the last issue in this election, not the hostages or the Russians, for un-

less the economy is brought into balance there will be no social balance at home or military balance abroad.

On how to deal with this, Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan obviously disagreed in Cleveland, and so do the voters, but despite the candidates' efforts to bamboozle or terrify the voters about other threats in the rest of the world, the pressing issue, on which most other issues hang for the rest of this decade, is how to get things in order at home and in the rest of the Western Hemisphere. That is what will have to be decided in the election next Tuesday.

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Wanted: British Labor Chief

By Wayland Young

LONDON — This week the Labor Party began to choose its new leader, in conditions which every new leader knows make it as likely to break up as not. The most important result of this choice may well be the shape of the leadership. Will the left or the right rump be the larger and which will get the party machine?

Under existing rules, four men will compete for the votes of the Labor Members of Parliament — and one other will do so without actually standing. But there are, as is inevitable in a time of deep crisis, many resolutions before the Labor parliamentarians urging them to change their own rules before the start. For some time, the party conference, the extra-parliamentary authority, has resolved that the leader should be elected not by MPs alone, but as for instance in West Germany and in the British Liberal Party, by a college which also contains people (so far unspecified) from outside Parliament: party activists, party members, the trade unions.

Confusion

Earlier this month, the party conference turned down all the compositions which had been suggested for this college, and voted for a special meeting of its own in January to sort out the confusion.

The party's (extra-parliamentary) National Executive Committee proposed to the MPs that they should simply wait until the election now, but just carry on under the deputy leader until January. This motion was dismissed by a vote of 2-1 last Tuesday. Another motion before MPs is that whoever they choose now should only serve until the special conference. Yet another is that their choice should be referred to all paid-up party members, and that the proposed special conference should be cancelled unless the membership rejected the MPs' choice. In practice, of course, the MPs will brush these aside too, and just go ahead and vote.

The election is an elimination ballot between four people and

may take three or four weeks. At these elections, there has always been a highly developed "plumping" — this means a number of people agree to vote at various stages for someone they don't want in an attempt to ensure that their real enemy is eliminated early. They then switch their votes in later ballots to their real choice. It will thus be hard to find what is happening.

Tussle

The tussle will be between those who want someone strong and honest enough to knock the special conference into shape so that it produces a democratic party constitution for the future. That is, one where the queen's government, when it is a Labor government, is led not by the choice of the tiny unrepresentative local party committees or the great bloc votes of the trade unions (many of whose members belong to the Conservative, Communist and other parties), but by someone genuinely elected by the people's representatives.

Such a man might presumably lead the conference back to earth from its present gossamer whims: The prohibition of private schools, unconditional nuclear disarmament, withdrawal from NATO co-operation, unconditionally leaving the Common Market, abolishing the House of Lords without providing any balance whatever to an omnipotent House of Commons composed, on the Labor side, of no longer of representatives but of delegates, and so forth.

The candidate most likely to succeed in doing these things is Denis Healey, who is an unusual character. That is to say, he has high intellectual attainments, but also excels at, and seems to revel in, a straightforward shouting match. He has greater Cabinet experience than any other contender, and might just possibly win on the first ballot next week. If he does, the party will move toward a split which, if it happens at all, will con-

sist of only the strabismic Communist bureaucrats dropping off. Mr. Healey holds the best hopes of the Democratic left in Britain now.

Out of EEC

Another interesting contender is Peter Shore, who is also a firm, honest and intelligent man. His magnificent speeches about some of the outrages committed during the strikes of the winter of 1978-79 called up a strong if largely unrecorded response in the people at large. His colleagues have not forgotten this. But he has unfortunately become emotionally committed to unconditional withdrawal from the EEC.

The elderly Michael Foot, long a leading light on the left of the party, former stump orator, still a good book reviewer, pleasant companion, is personally liked by almost everyone, but he has very little ministerial, as opposed to parliamentary, experience, and his view of history stops at the meetings of the Labor Party which agreed to West German rearmament in 1952. If he were elected, he would with charm and dignity allow the hard-left cadres to place themselves above the law in the party structure.

Cold Approach

The same is true of John Silkin, whose cold and self-satisfied approach makes him appear only a less pleasant route to the same end. He is known in Britain for little more than his anti-European-ism. Beyond these four, there is one "ghost" candidate: Tony Benn, the dynamic and hypocritical darling of the extra-parliamentary cadres. He is not running because he would not stand a cat's chance in hell among the people who know him and have worked with him. He is saving himself for the electoral college, if that ever comes about.

Shirley Williams, Britain's best natural leader among the Social Democrats, cannot stand because she lost her seat in Parliament at the last election and neither of her closest allies, David Owen and Bill Rodgers, have quite the stature to stand in for her. Yet her return to Parliament in due course, and Roy Jenkins's return to British politics in January after four years heading the European Commission in Brussels, means that the present leadership election will of itself settle very little. With the general election not due until 1984, left-of-center political arrangements in Britain remain thoroughly unsettled. Disbandment and realignment look like the order of the day.

Wayland Young is a British writer and as Lord Kennet is a Labor member of the House of Lords. He wrote this article for the International Herald Tribune.

C.E. BRANCOVAN.
Manchester, England.

Letters

Galbraith Faulted

In his article on "Friedmanism in Britain" (IHT, Oct. 15), John Kenneth Galbraith conveniently ignores some crucial aspects of the background against which Margaret Thatcher's policies are being carried out.

There is no mention, for example, of the fact that her government inherited all the consequences of the strikes and disputes of the winter of 1978-79, especially the Clegg "Comparability Commission" (now fortunately defunct) with its exorbitant wage awards — many well above 20 percent. Surely this must have had a significant impact on the rate of inflation?

The International Herald Tribune welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address. The Herald Tribune cannot acknowledge letters sent to the editor.

Muskie On Policy: Simist Abroad: I

By Philip Geyelin

WASHINGTON — Listening to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie ruminate upon his first five turbulent months in office, you get, first of all, the impression of a man grown increasingly comfortable with the challenges of the job and more than willing to talk about them.

But you also get the sense of a man increasingly uncomfortable with the working conditions — and reluctant to talk about that. He will not specify for the record exactly what he thinks needs to be done to curtail the role of the National Security Council staff or its chief, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. He will not discuss "personalities."

But the conclusion you come away with is inescapable: If there is a second Carter administration, there is almost certainly going to have to be some early resolution of the continuing struggle between the NSC staff and the State Department over who is responsible for what in the conduct of diplomacy, and in the making — and official stating — of policy.

Unknowable

All this is another way of saying that when you are weighing the foreign policy unknowables of Ronald Reagan against the record of Jimmy Carter, you have to take into account a significant unknowable about President Carter: If he chooses to go on managing foreign policy in the same old way, my hunch (and it is no more than that) is that he will have to do so without the services of Secretary Muskie.

But if Mr. Muskie prevails, even perhaps only in a matter of degree, predictions are somewhat easier. This is the first of two reports on a long conversation with the secretary in which he set forth in a concerned, contemplative and confident tone his developing views about foreign policy priorities for the long haul; about how to deal with the Russians; about the utter necessity to push hard for ratification of the SALT-2 treaty; about the requisites of diplomacy and the role of the secretary of state.

"What I like about diplomacy — probably the only thing I like," he says, "is that it is conducted in such a civilized way. As for his celebrated temper ('I hate it, I use it, and I can lose it'), it doesn't work in diplomacy. You discuss your differences; you don't raise your voices; so that if a point comes when some display of emotion is in order, it's more credible."

He dislikes the "confrontational" approach: "You can't have a dialogue with the Russians if you're shouting at them all the time." He thinks he has a "healthy relationship" with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and finds it "interesting" that more than once Mr. Gromyko has interrupted his translator "for having translated what he said too harshly."

Just a Ploy?

It could be just a ploy, he concedes — he does not give the impression of having illusions about the Russians. On the contrary, he finds them "not easy to read" and puts at the top of his list of priorities for the next four years the job of "taking the right reading of the Soviet Union."

His own reading? Skeptical. He thinks the Soviet threat has been overdone in the campaign. "Their limitations and shortcomings don't get much attention." But the Soviet Union "surely is a superpower and must be respected."

While he remains "ambiguous," for example about the real Soviet objectives in Afghanistan, he doesn't entirely discount their claim that their purposes are limited to dealing with "instability" in a neighboring country of vital security interest to them. And so he believes that ultimately the Russians will see it in their interest to withdraw for the sake of restoring profitable relations with the West — if steady pressure is kept on them to do so.

Effective Embargo

He thinks the U.S. grain embargo has, and will continue to, cost the Russians heavily, and that the cutoff of technology is a serious loss to them. The trouble, he admits, is that the administration oversold the idea that these measures, plus the Olympic boycott, would be "punitive" enough to force the Russians to withdraw from Afghanistan before they have restored it to reasonable stability.

It is, in short, a balanced, cautious estimate: "The Soviets are competitive — they're not going to abandon their effort to prove that their kind of society is right." But they are also encircled, suspicious, beleaguered. So while he would resist Soviet encroachments, Mr. Muskie thinks the "question really is the extent to which the Soviet Union can be made to feel comfortable on this planet — without being expansionist."

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U.S. Envoy Urged Contacts With Opposition

Pessimistic Cables on Shah Angered Carter

By Scott Armstrong

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — On Nov. 9, the U.S. ambassador to Iran, Jim Sullivan, sent an eyes-only cable to the secretary of state in which he urged a major policy shift toward the embattled shah. Sullivan, once an enthusiastic supporter of the shah, was now a vocal critic, he said. He urged a "Thinking the Unthinkable" approach to the shah's situation.

Through November and into December of 1978, American intelligence reports and appraisals of the situation in Iran continued to be marked by what had become a steady pattern: the outlook for the shah was stable one day, his collapse imminent on the next. Mr. Brzezinski remained constant on the need to stand by the shah; advisers in the State Department were split.

Despite Mr. Sullivan's strongly worded cable, many members of his own staff in Tehran were unaware that their boss had lost confidence in the shah's chances of survival. They continued to send in reports that conflicted with Mr. Sullivan's own appraisals and, anxious not to create panic by broadcasting his own drastic shift in position, Mr. Sullivan did not stop them.

The president asked the Senate majority leader, Robert Byrd of West Virginia, and the Treasury secretary, Michael Blumenthal, to stop in Iran for a candid appraisal of the shah's position.

When Mr. Blumenthal lunched with the shah Nov. 21, he was a bit taken aback. The State Department briefing papers had told him the shah "remains in firm control and has stated categorically that he will not step down." But Mr. Blumenthal found the Iranian leader sulky and listless. As the Cabinet officer tried to reassure the shah about American attitudes, the shah seemed not to hear.

Another Try

When Mr. Blumenthal's gloomy report reached Washington, Undersecretary of State David Newsom decided to try again at the White House. He assembled three analysts who had recently briefed him on their tour of Iran and sent them to enlighten Mr. Brzezinski's staff on how bad things really were. The group, accompanied by the Iranian desk officer, Henry Precht, met with Mr. Brzezinski's deputy, David Aaron, and the National Security Council specialist on Iran, Navy Capt. Gary Sick, in the Situation Room of the White House.

After the State Department group had spent an hour describing the total deterioration of support for the shah, Mr. Aaron interrupted Mr. Precht to ask a question. "Tell me, Henry, exactly who is the opposition?" Mr. Aaron asked.

"The people, David, the people," Mr. Precht responded tartly. "The State Department team left totally discouraged. They felt the White House was losing touch with reality in Iran."

Mr. Sullivan's cables from Tehran, meanwhile, took on a sarcastic quality. From the White House viewpoint, Mr. Sullivan's ego undercut his effectiveness as an advocate of U.S. policy. A White House staffer said the president was tired of Mr. Sullivan's "smart-ass attitude and smart-ass cables."

But Sen. Byrd's personal report did not brighten the picture either. He informed the White House that he found the shah impotent to alter the course of his slide.

International Pressure

While the president absorbed these reports, tremendous international pressure was being applied for a last-ditch effort to keep the shah in power. Because of their need for oil and their investments, some in the State Department felt the Western powers believed the most likely method of maintaining stability was to prop up the shah.

From all the competing voices, the president had to choose. What was the reality in Iran? And what could the United States do at this point to gain control over events?

When Mr. Blumenthal returned at the end of November with his personal report, he also had a businesslike suggestion for resolving the internal debate: get an outside opinion.

Mr. Blumenthal told the president he had been shocked by the shah's demoralized appearance. He said Mr. Sullivan had told him to expect the shah to be downcast, but at the same time, State Department briefing papers were declaring that the shah could regain control of events. Mr. Blumenthal questioned whether the latter opinion was sound. He advised the president to seek an outside appraisal, and recommended that Mr. Carter appoint George Ball, a former undersecretary of state and now a partner in a New York investment house, to conduct it.

Brzezinski Considers

Mr. Blumenthal's advice was seconded by Mr. Brzezinski, who told colleagues he was sure Mr. Ball would see things the same way he did. Mr. Ball arrived in Washington immediately and Mr. Brzezinski installed him in the Executive Office Building, where he began sifting through all the intelligence reports he could find.

Mr. Ball, then 68, had known many among the Iranian elite for 30 or 40 years and had traveled frequently to Iran. Years earlier, he had heard firsthand of the frustration with corruption under the shah and had thought the shah's penchant for advanced weaponry to be irrational.

From the reports he read and conversations with administration aides, Mr. Ball rapidly came to the conclusion that the shah could not be saved. He seized on the possibility of installing the National Front in power, despite the CIA reports citing the weakness of the front.

Finally, on Dec. 13, Mr. Ball met with Mr. Carter. He told the president that the shah, like Humpty Dumpty, could never be put together again because there had been a "national repudiation by the Iranian people." Even the professional and middle classes were now against him. What the United States had to do, Mr. Ball said, was work out the transfer of power to "responsible hands before Khomeini comes back and messes everything up."

Mr. Ball warned that Mr. Brzezinski's hard-line "crackdown" approach could not succeed. Army troops might refuse to fire at demonstrators, he said, leading to the disintegration of the military. If the military did hold together, then there would be great, bloody confrontations leading to prolonged civil war.

One way or the other, Mr. Ball told Mr. Carter, the shah should be told he ought to leave the country for awhile and begin to share power with others. It was the only way he could avoid letting the country fall into the hands of Communists and religious extremists. Mr. Ball did, however, recommend that the shah could continue as regent and as commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Mr. Carter would not budge. Mr. Ball departed for a Florida vacation.

Afterward, Mr. Brzezinski, unhappy with Mr. Ball's recommendations, once again made his case for standing by the shah. The shah had made it through the most dangerous holiday period; he could ride out the protests. The "council of notables" made no sense, Mr. Brzezinski said, because the National Front leaders were weak, had no popular support and no respect from the military leadership. The result, Mr. Brzezinski said, would be a crumbling at the first

push from Iranian Communists or an aggressive move by the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, Mr. Brzezinski said, only the military could meet a threat from Ayatollah Khomeini, and from all appearances and intelligence reports, the military was still intensely loyal to the shah. What the shah needed from the president was a clear signal that the United States would back him to the end.

Draft of Letter

According to sources in the State Department, Mr. Brzezinski then drafted a letter for the president to send the shah, which unambiguously urged him to use force to put down the demonstrations. The letter, three sources said, spoke of issues of greater importance than liberalization of Iranian society.

A draft of the letter was sent to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance for State Department comments; key aides to Mr. Vance were shocked by it.

Mr. Vance spoke to the president immediately, according to these sources, and said he wanted to be sure that Mr. Carter understood that language of the draft would likely be interpreted by the shah as an invitation for widespread violence against his people. And if the shah did not accept the advice, but abdicated, the letter could create a disaster for U.S. interests should it fall into the wrong hands.

Mr. Carter, according to State Department sources, told the secretary of state that he was willing to take the responsibility. He felt it was important for the shah to know that the United States was unambiguously behind him. According to these sources, the president believed that the shah had a new lease on life and should take advantage of it immediately.

Mr. Vance suggested changes in the draft to make it slightly more ambiguous, which were accepted. But the White House now says the message was never sent.

In any case, advice from Washington had no impact on the shah's decisions. He did not order any crackdown.

In Tehran, Mr. Sullivan was out consulted about the draft letter, but he was infuriated by the representations of U.S. policy by the Iranian ambassador to the United States, Ardeshir Zahedi; by the president's refusal to approve contacts with the opposition; by Mr. Brzezinski's persistence in backing the shah.

For months, State Department officials had warned Mr. Sullivan that he was on thin ice with the White House, that Mr. Brzezinski and to a lesser extent the president felt that his cables were impudent and improperly critical of the National Security Council and Mr. Carter. The new cable got Mr. Carter's attention.

"Pull him out," the president ordered Mr. Vance, according to State Department sources.

Mr. Vance objected. Firing Mr. Sullivan would make it appear that the United States was deserting the shah.

Mr. Carter was adamant; he said he wanted Mr. Sullivan's "ass."

Mr. Vance suggested that instead, Mr. Newsom, the undersecretary, be sent to Tehran to give Mr. Sullivan an official but private reprimand. Finally, the president relented.

As it turned out, Mr. Newsom was too busy to make the trip. Mr. Sullivan stayed on the job, unaware that the president wanted him fired, as events in Iran beaded toward the climax.



Joseph Franklin

Suspect Arrested In Sniper Attacks On Blacks in U.S.

TAMPA, Fla. — A reputed Nazi sympathizer wanted for questioning in a series of sniper attacks on blacks, including civil rights leader Vernon Jordan Jr., has been arrested after a two-month nationwide manhunt, officials said.

Joseph Franklin was arrested in Lakeland, Fla., on Tuesday, three days before a scheduled visit there by President Carter. Federal officials said they had linked Mr. Franklin to a 1976 letter accusing Mr. Carter of "selling out to blacks."

He was jailed in Tampa on a federal warrant charging him with civil rights violations in the slaying of two black joggers in Salt Lake City on Aug. 20. Authorities said Mr. Franklin was arrested Sept. 25 in Florence, Ky., but escaped by climbing out a police station window.

An FBI spokesman said Mr. Franklin was also wanted for questioning in the wounding of Mr. Jordan, the National Urban League president, on May 29 in Fort Wayne, Ind., and in slayings in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Oklahoma. However, other officials said Mr. Franklin had been all but ruled out as a suspect in the Jordan case.

The 30-year-old drifter was described by friends, relatives and police as having a deep-seated hatred for blacks. The Los Angeles Times said an aunt reported being told that Mr. Franklin had joined the American Nazi Party.

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Killings Vowed Amid IRA Hunger Strike

Protestant Militia Threatens Ulster Foes

By Ed Blanche

The Associated Press

BELFAST — Protestant extremists, alarmed at spreading Roman Catholic support for Irish guerrillas staging a hunger strike in Northern Ireland's Maze prison, have warned they will "eliminate" Irish Republican Army activists organizing protests to support the prisoners.

The threat late Tuesday by the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), the largest of the province's Protestant street armies, fueled the tension generated by the hunger strike "to the death" by seven convicted terrorists demanding that Britain recognize jailed IRA men as political prisoners.

At the same time, a reliable UDA source underlined the threat by claiming the organization's killer squads were responsible for the assassination of four persons, some connected to the prison protest, in recent weeks.

The source, who declined to be identified, said that other "leading lights" in the swelling protest now "face extermination" in what is shaping up as the most explosive crisis in Northern Ireland in several years.

The almost exclusively Catholic IRA is fighting to end British rule in Northern Ireland and to unite the Protestant-dominated province.

UDA Statement

The hunger strike, the UDA said in a statement, "is the latest in a long line of IRA propaganda in their attempt to discredit the state of Ulster."

It charged the IRA's Provisional wing with seeking to "create agitation, confrontation and social disorder" with the hunger strike and a wider protest by nearly 500 other convicted guerrillas in Maze prison outside Belfast.

The statement added: "Let the people who are embarking on this campaign be aware that the UDA will not be drawn into a sectarian war, but that it will use every means at its disposal to eliminate those who pose a threat to the state of Ulster and its peoples."

The UDA, bitterly opposed to unification of Ulster with the Irish Republic, is still a legal organization although it has been blamed for scores of killings in Northern Ireland's sectarian and political conflict in the past 11 years.

with the Irish Republic, which is overwhelmingly Catholic.

The organization halted indiscriminate sectarian attacks on Catholics three years ago, but has admitted assassinating "known Republican targets" since then.

Sinn Féin, the Provisional IRA's political front, said it plans more street marches in support of the

seven guerrillas staging the hunger strike, which began Monday. The seven are refusing all food but are taking liquids.

A spokesman, commenting on the UDA threats, said: "We know that those working on the prison campaign are targets. We know we're at risk, but the campaign will go on until justice is done."

Unesco Panel Chief Warns Of Growing Media Control

Reuters

LONDON — Sean MacBride, the former Irish foreign minister and chief author of a controversial report on the news media, has forecast a growing movement by governments to control the flow of news.

Mr. MacBride Tuesday defended the media report, issued last February by a 16-member Unesco commission under his chairmanship, and said that its support for press freedom and opposition to censorship provided "useful ammunition" in resisting governmental encroachments.

"The struggle to control the media is going to increase very considerably in the next few years," he said at a press briefing. "I mean all governments, democratic and otherwise."

Criticism From West

The MacBride commission's three-year study was strongly criticized by Western delegations during a five-week conference of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which ended Tuesday in Belgrade.

Mr. MacBride denied charges that the commission supported the licensing of journalists and other government controls that could limit press freedom, especially in the Third World.

He said the commission's report opposed censorship and government interference with the dissemination of information, and upheld the rights of correspondents. It also called for free access to news sources.

Mr. MacBride said he believed "some elements of the Unesco secretariat were trying to manipulate the commission, but the commission was well aware of it and sufficiently competent to react against it."

Third World countries, backed by Unesco, called at the Belgrade meeting for a "new world information and communication order" to counter the impact made by international news agencies and foreign-owned newspapers.

Mr. MacBride said that journalists should "organize for the protection of journalists and the integrity of journalism," because, he said, more journalists were killed, tortured and imprisoned than were members of any other profession.

16 Police Killed In El Salvador

EL SALVADOR, El Salvador — Military authorities have reported that 16 rural policemen were dragged from their homes in the town of Ilobasco by unidentified gunmen and killed.

The authorities said Tuesday that the policemen, who served in a semi-official reserve capacity, probably were killed by leftist guerrillas. They said the attackers escaped after the early-morning raid.

The deaths raised the toll from political violence in the previous 24 hours to 21. Five persons were reported killed last Monday night in San Miguel, about 70 miles east of the capital.

Bernd T. Matthias, 62, Discovered Superconducting Elements, Alloys

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Dr. Bernd T. Matthias, 62, who was said to have discovered more elements and compounds with superconducting properties than any other scientist, died Monday of a heart attack at his home in La Jolla, Calif.

For years, Dr. Matthias, who fled his native Germany during the Nazi era and eventually became a professor at the University of California at San Diego, was regarded as a leading candidate for a Nobel Prize in either chemistry or physics. He divided his time chiefly between San Diego and the Bell Telephone Laboratories Inc. in Murray Hill, N.J., although he also worked at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico.

According to Dr. Albert Clogston of Bell Laboratories, the most important contribution of Dr. Matthias and his co-workers was the discovery in 1954 of a superconducting alloy in which three atoms of niobium are mated with one of tin. It has become the "workhorse" material for a new generation of superconducting generators, magnets and transmission systems.

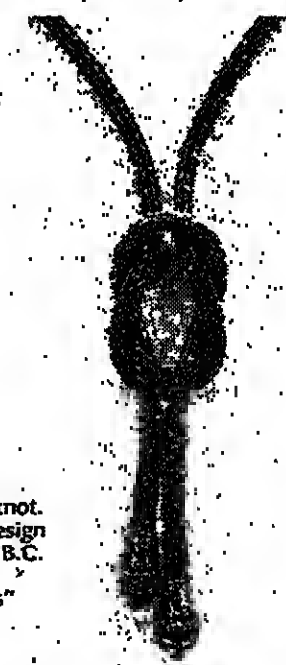
Accident in Australia

SYDNEY — About 40 persons were taken to a hospital Wednesday for treatment after inhaling fumes from a truck carrying dangerous poisons which slammed into a supermarket and caught fire in the town of Kempsey north of here.

Luis Aguirre-Edwards

NEW YORK (NYT) — Luis Aguirre-Edwards, 81, a former officer in the United States and Europe of the Grace National Bank, predecessor of the Marine Midland Bank, and a descendant of a family of Chilean diplomats and newspaper publishers, died in Santiago, Chile, Sept. 14, according to friends here.

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Carter and Reagan Grow Closer on Foreign Policy Positions

By Stephen Klaidman
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — If the campaign were to continue for another couple of weeks instead of grinding to a halt Tuesday, there is some indication that the foreign policies of President Carter and his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, would come close to merging. Mr. Carter's positions have been evolving over four years. Mr. Reagan's over many months.

In the president's case, much of the change comes from facing the problems in the real world, not in simulated circumstances. Mr. Carter discovered, for example, that it was simply not possible to get the Soviet Union to agree to deep cuts in missile strength that were consistent with U.S. security needs.

Mr. Carter also learned that a human rights policy must take account of other U.S. interests, especially in the national security area. The same standards cannot apply in South Korea as in Chile.

Some of the changes undoubtedly result from political considerations. The decision to move quickly on SALT-2 ratification, for example, seems to spring from a perceived need to bolster the president's man-of-peace image. Mr. Carter never disavowed the SALT treaty, but his timing is suspect.

As for Mr. Reagan, his shift toward the center has to do with confronting another reality — scrutiny. President Carter's foreign policy ideas have been in the spotlight for four years. Mr. Reagan has never had a foreign policy before.

Delicate Shadings

The former governor of California, who has considerable experience in politics, but little in diplomacy, seemed to think that the ample language of the former could substitute, at least in a political campaign, for the delicate shadings required by the latter.

But now such notions as "nuclear superiority" have given way to the more sensitive call to "restore the margin of safety." The margin-of-safety idea is left ambiguous, as no doubt it should be. There is little question that the president also subscribes to the idea that there should be some sort of a margin of safety working to prevent nuclear war.

Mr. Reagan's disdain for SALT also has undergone some modification. He still contends that the treaty is badly flawed, but emphasizes his support for the process. Exposure to detailed criticism and politics have both played a part in determining that shift.

The fact is that any candidate for the U.S. presidency is bound to have foreign policy goals roughly similar to the general outlines of his predecessor. He cannot simply scrap that policy; he must build upon it.

The key question is how a president intends to accomplish his policy objectives and what his priorities will be. Here, both Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan have given some fairly strong indications of the direction that they would take.

What follows is an outline of Mr. Carter's posture and of Mr. Reagan's position in a number of critical areas. It demonstrates that

the two men have a somewhat different view of the world, the place that the United States should take in it and what it would take to get the country where they believe it should be.

SALT and Defense

The president favors ratification of the SALT-2 treaty as negotiated and signed by himself and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. Mr. Reagan would withdraw the treaty from Senate consideration and try to persuade the Soviet Union to enter into new negotiations that his national security adviser, William Van Cleave, says would "guarantee American survivability and deny superiority to the Soviet Union."

Mr. Van Cleave said in an interview that Mr. Reagan believes he will be able to persuade the Soviet Union that such a renegotiation of SALT-2, or negotiation of SALT-3 as he has called it, is a better alternative than confronting a determined United States with no treaty in force.

He said that it was not Mr. Reagan's intention to try to surpass or even match the Soviet Union in quantity of arms, but rather "to fix American vulnerabilities and deficiencies and close the gap between us and the Soviets." He added that the United States would have to improve its naval and air forces to compensate for areas of Soviet strength.

According to David Aaron, deputy national security adviser to the president, a second Carter administration would continue to emphasize arms control and the same set of military priorities. These include continued development of the MX mobile missile, which complements the SALT-2 agreement; deployment of Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe while pursuing talks with Moscow on theater nuclear weapons; development of a new strategic bomber; continued development of a rapid deployment force; and annual real increases in defense spending of close to 5 percent.

Mr. Reagan favors all those military options, although he would re-examine the proposed shell-game mode of deployment for the MX, and might advocate higher spending levels.

Soviet Relations

Mr. Carter is committed to a policy that encourages cooperation wherever possible, but he is willing to respond to specific Soviet actions such as the intervention in Afghanistan with moves such as the Olympic Games boycott and grain and technology embargoes. He tends not to see the Soviet hand in every situation around the world, as Mr. Reagan has suggested he does.

Mr. Reagan's basic approach is to be tough with the Russians despite his own estimation that for the next five years, at least, the Soviet Union will be stronger in both conventional and strategic terms than the United States. Nevertheless, he opposed the grain embargo. He appears to believe that increased U.S. military strength is a prerequisite for increasing opportunities for cooperation.

Obviously Mr. Reagan's intention to reject the SALT-2 treaty would complicate his relations with Moscow, even if he were able to convince the Soviet leaders that there is no alternative to negotiating a new agreement.

Campaign '80: The Final Week

The long 1980 campaign for the White House is almost over. President Carter, left, has kept himself in shape by jogging — accompanied by a doctor. His Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, right, was in apparent top form as he greeted supporters Tuesday night before debating the president in Cleveland.



China

After stumbling around a bit over the problem of U.S.-China relations and U.S. relations with Taiwan, Mr. Reagan now comes out just about where the Carter administration is on dealing with both countries.

Both Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan favor an expanding economic relationship between China and the United States and they are both for the sale of dual-purpose technology — items short of weaponry.

Neither Mr. Aaron nor Mr. Van Cleave would predict whether the United States would sell arms to China over the next four years. Mr. Aaron said that the United States would like to maintain an even-handed approach to relations with China and the Soviet Union, but that Soviet actions such as the intervention in Afghanistan and Soviet support

for the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia make it difficult.

On Taiwan, the Carter administration has just infuriated Peking by granting Taiwan's representatives in the United States diplomatic privileges and accepting similar status for its staff in Taipei.

This angers the Chinese because it implies that Taiwan is sovereign, rather than a part of China. Mr. Reagan approves of the Carter administration move, which was announced before the election rather than after, because of a bureaucratic foul-up.

Middle East

Both candidates support a permanent peace in the area based on UN Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for substantial Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and security guarantees for Israel. Both also believe that it is important to draw Jordan into negotiations for Palestinian autonomy.

The president seems to be more interested than Mr. Reagan in bringing Palestinian representatives to the bargaining table. Mr. Van Cleave said that if Israel felt more secure about U.S. support, it would be inclined to take more risks.

Both sides contend that they would not, nor could they, ram conditions down Israel's throat. There has been widespread concern in the American Jewish community that in a second term, with no need to woo Jewish voters, Mr. Carter would do just that. It has been pointed out, however, that many of Mr. Reagan's close advisers, such as William Simon and George Schultz, have oil industry and other Arab-related business associations that might influence Mr. Reagan's Middle East policy decisions.

In the Gulf and Indian Ocean, Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan want to increase U.S. strength in similar ways. Mr. Van Cleave said that he had no objection to the sites that Mr. Carter has chosen in Oman, Somalia and Kenya to establish a U.S. presence. But he would add, if possible, the two Sinal air bases that Israel has returned to Egypt.

Third World

A Carter administration can be expected to continue to pay more attention to improving relations with the poor countries of Africa and Latin America than a Reagan administration. Mr. Reagan might be more pragmatic in accepting the excesses of pro-American rightist dictators, and Mr. Carter, especially after Iran, would probably be more sensitive to popular movements in these countries.

If there is a central philosophical position that would provide a beacon for Mr. Reagan's conduct of foreign policy, it is this: He believes that with resolve and a sense of national purpose, the United States can regain the same relative dominance it had in the years immediately after World War II.

Mr. Carter also believes in strong will and purposefulness, but he sees far more constraints than Mr. Reagan and believes that although the United States, overall, is still the world's strongest economic and military power, it cannot hope to dominate its friends and enemies as it did in the 1950s.

Congress: Republican Gains Expected to Restore Balance of Parties on the Hill

By Richard E. Cohen

WASHINGTON — The attention focused on the presidential race may obscure but it will not diminish the significance of what are being foreseen as some major Republican gains in the Nov. 4 congressional elections.

Although the gains may not be as dramatic as some Republican leaders predicted a few months ago, the result seems certain to give Congress a closer balance between the two major parties.

Furthermore, the numbers alone will not reflect the significance of whatever gains the Republicans do make on Tuesday, because they are poised to defeat several prominent members of the Democratic congressional leadership, including some longtime committee chairmen.

The loss of several such entrenched Democratic leaders would undermine the party. Republican strategists have been quoted as saying, and make junior Democrats more cautious in the next Congress.

Although Republican hopes of taking control of the Senate are based on nearly all the close races going their way, they have a good chance of defeating enough Democrats to win more seats than they have controlled at any time since 1958, when the Democrats had a 49-47 majority. A consensus of political experts shows the Republicans winning a net 4 to 6 Senate seats to add to the 41 out of 100 they now hold.

In the House, Republicans likely will not come so close to threatening party control but they will take enough seats from the 273-159

Democratic advantage — perhaps 15 to 25 — to give them a more influential role on major issues.

Because they usually have controlled at least 60 percent of the seats in both the Senate and House during the last two decades, congressional Democrats typically have found little reason to cooperate with Republicans. The resulting frustration has left Republicans as a largely negative force with few constructive legislative suggestions.

This year's Republican resurgence has been caused by several factors, including rising inflation, interest rates and unemployment during the last two years of the Carter administration. Also, Congress's dismal standing in the public opinion polls, including surveys that show approval of the institution falling below 20 percent, has placed many senior incumbents accustomed to easy re-election on the defensive.

Party Funds

Much of the credit for improving Republican prospects goes to the encouragement and financial assistance Republican National Chairman Bill Brock has given to build local party organizations and to provide sophisticated instruction for candidates and campaign managers. The party has been able to finance these operations largely because it has been much more effective than the Democrats in using direct mail campaigns to develop a base of hundreds of thousands of small contributors.

As a result, the party which was battered in the 1974 election after the furor associated with Watergate and President Richard Nixon's

resignation has made a strong recovery and has restored some life to the two-party system.

In fact, many of the Senate Democratic seats in most serious jeopardy are those where the incumbent narrowly won a 6-year term in 1974 despite abundant political advantages. For example, veteran Sens. Birch Bayh of Indiana and George McGovern of South Dakota each received less than 53 percent of the vote that year. Others like John Durkin of New Hampshire and John Culver of Iowa were narrow first-time winners who face tough challenges this year.

One of the most contested and significant races casts Sen. Frank Church of Idaho against Rep. Steven Symms, a staunch conservative, who has accused Sen. Church of losing touch with his constituents. Local polls show the two candidates roughly even. Sen. Church regularly cites the advantage his seniority gives his state in securing large federal grants to develop local energy resources and to protect its wilderness areas.

However, Sen. Church notably refrains from much discussion of his role as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. His support of the Panama Canal and arms limitation (SALT) treaties have brought considerable criticism from the mostly conservative citizens of his home state who seem to take little pride from the fact that their senator has a strategic diplomatic niche.

If Sen. Church loses, his successor on the Foreign Relations Committee would be Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, assuming Democrats retain control of the Senate. Sen. Pell, a former foreign service officer who was a spe-

cial assistant during the organization of the United Nations at San Francisco, is an avowed liberal and internationalist who prefers to work behind the scenes with State Department and foreign officials rather than to attack them in critical speeches.

Foreign Policy

Although he generally has supported Mr. Carter's foreign policy, Sen. Pell has criticized the restructuring of foreign aid programs and feels more attention should be given to the overall framework of American foreign policy.

The major question raised is Sen. Pell becomes Foreign Relations chairman would be whether he has the stature to rebuild the tradition of a bipartisan foreign policy that has been crumbling in the Senate in recent years. The increasingly strident debate on many international issues as well as Sen. Pell's low-key style raise doubts whether the committee would be able to regain its once dominant role.

Concern about the breakdown of bipartisanship has been increased by the defeat of Sen. Jacob Javits in New York's Republican primary. Sen. Javits, the committee's senior Republican with extensive experience, is making a last-ditch effort as a third-party candidate but his age and deteriorating health are working against him.

Despite the fact that no committee chairman in the House has lost to a Republican opponent since 1966, several of these senior Democrats face a difficult battle this year. One of the most endangered is Rep. Al Ullman of Oregon, chairman of the Ways and Means

Committee, which is responsible for tax and trade legislation among other matters.

Rep. Ullman's opponent, a local publisher with no political experience, is accusing him of being out of touch with the conservative mood in his sprawling rural district and cites his advocacy of a national value-added tax. Rep. Ullman has withdrawn the proposal, which he initially contended would be a useful way to cut income and Social Security taxes. But his close race likely will be a warning to others in Congress that they must tend to local sentiments.

Difficult races are also being faced by five Democrats indicted or already convicted in the Abscam influence-peddling scandal. Each lawmaker probably would have been re-elected easily but for his unknowing encounter with federal law-enforcement agents, but the odds are that two or three will be rejected by the voters.

Republicans have been immeasurably aided this year by an overall increase in campaign money raised by challengers. In recent years incumbents have cornered a large share of the funds, especially from interest groups, but the tide is shifting as many new business committees have become more active and decided to invest in candidates with whom they feel more philosophically compatible. Combined with the Republican fund-raising superiority, this assistance has reduced the advantage held by Democrats in name recognition and voter perception.

Regardless of which presidential candidate is the victor, the new Congress is almost cer-

tain to give him a hard time. Mr. Carter has shown no indication during his campaign that he intends to improve his lackluster relationship with his party colleagues by seeking their advice and cooperation. His first-term failure to develop strong loyalty was a major factor in his legislative and political woes. Mr. Reagan may want to work more closely with Congress, especially the activist Republican leaders, but his lack of Washington experience and occasional harsh rhetoric would be severe impediments.

In addition, the growing independence of many in Congress, especially the junior members, and the breakdown of the seniority system, would make it difficult for even the most experienced president to gain approval of his legislative program. Success typically requires the careful building of a consensus position that seeks the support of diverse factions; and more diligent leadership to convince wavering legislators.

Although neither Mr. Carter nor Mr. Reagan likely would do much to promote the prospect, this year's House and Senate campaign results ultimately could bring a return to stronger party government in Congress. With the narrower split in seats between the two parties, more competitive Republicans are confidently looking ahead to the day when they take control. The prospects are that in the 1980s the House and Senate, which has lasted since 1954 — the longest period of one-party control in the nation's history.

The author is the congressional reporter for The National Journal.

Negative Perceptions Dominate Unpredictable U.S. Election

By Adam Clymer

WASHINGTON — With less than a week to go in a presidential campaign that seems never to have really begun, one American voter in three is choosing a candidate not for some positive reason but because the alternatives are so unpleasant.

After a race distinguished by quarrels over whether Ronald Reagan is a warmonger, whether President Carter is mean and nasty, or whether Rep. John Anderson is a spoiler, that finding from the latest New York Times-CBS News Poll is less surprising than dismaying.

The outcome of the election may ultimately turn on whether the style or the arguments Mr. Reagan or Mr. Carter employed in Tuesday's debate in Cleveland impress an electorate that is finally attentive — or on whether something either of them said is perceived as a major blunder.

Or the election may in effect be decided by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who probably can assure Mr. Carter's re-election if all 52 American hostages are released by Election Day, the first anniversary of their captivity.

Poor Attitude

But unpredictable and extraordinary influences like these aside, the events leading up to the 49th U.S. presidential election have been a study in comparative distaste.

A reporter who spent much of the fall knocking on doors heard one comment after another reflecting that attitude. One reluctant Reagan supporter, Clare Conte

of Floral Park, N.Y., said, "We don't have much of a choice. They're all idiots." An equally dubious Arnold Reisman of Shaker Heights, Ohio, said, when asked whom he would vote for: "Probably Carter. We know what he's not capable of."

By Labor Day, the traditional campaign opening, the race, which had seemed in midsummer as though it might be Mr. Reagan's to lose, was close. The midsummer lead held by the former governor of California had been artificially inflated by his own party's amiable convention, and by the lingering dissidence of the Kennedy forces in the Democratic Party.

With the Democratic convention over, the bulk of Mr. Kennedy's supporters came home to the Democratic Party, and Mr. Reagan helped Mr. Carter's cause with a string of odd comments on Taiwan and the Vietnam War, which he favored, and the theory of evolution, about which he had some reservations. Then on Labor Day itself he seemed to label the South in general as Ku Klux Klan territory, and gave Mr. Carter an opening to make his challenger the issue in the campaign.

But that tactical Carter advantage did not seem to last for long. The President was soon on the political defensive for refusing to debate Mr. Reagan as long as Rep. Anderson was part of the League of Women Voters cast, as he was in Baltimore on Sept. 21. Mr. Carter feared that Rep. Anderson's independent candidacy would take far more votes from him than from Mr. Reagan.

As that issue faded from the public mind, Mr. Carter's own campaign tone became the issue. His television commercials sought to portray Mr. Reagan as a

threat to peace, and when Mr. Carter said as much himself, and implied Mr. Reagan was racist and anti-Semitic as well, the Californian profited from distaste over Mr. Carter's style.

The former movie actor played on all television networks as hurt and repelled as he said Mr. Carter "owes the country an apology."

One poll after another showed voters worried about Mr. Reagan's ability to handle foreign policy, and fearful that he would get the country into war. But those surveys also showed that even if the public had grave doubts about the good sense of Mr. Reagan's plans for sharp cuts in federal income taxes, they were ready to trust the lagging economy to him than to Mr. Carter.

Against this frozen set of perceptions, which stayed almost motionless despite the campaigning and the television commercials, one important state after another turned out to be closer than expected. Pennsylvania, with 27 votes in the electoral college — the institution that will in actuality determine who wins — seemed even, rather than a likely Carter victory. But Texas, with 26 electoral votes, was no longer a probable Reagan pickup, but a tossup. Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Florida, even Mississippi and Connecticut seemed too close to call.

Party Unity

Besides what the candidates were saying, and what their ad men were pushing for them, the campaign was proceeding against a background of singular Republican unity, helping Mr. Reagan, and a profound labor distaste of the Californian, which put unions hard at work for a president labor does not really love.

The Republicans were able to raise substantial sums to add to the \$29.4 million in federal funds that Mr. Reagan and Mr. Carter were given for the campaign. And local and state Republican groups spent it on everything from anti-Carter commercials to buttons, bumper stickers and telephone banks. Under the law Rep. Anderson did not qualify for federal funds, although he may be reimbursed for some of his expenses if he receives more than 5 percent of the election vote. Election law allowed both parties to use private fundraising devices, but the Republicans worked much harder at it, although the union spending for Mr. Carter narrowed the gap. Precise totals were not available, but the extra spending may have tilted toward the Republicans by between \$5 million and \$10 million.

But while any edge matters in a close election, there was no indication that these Republican advantages were having great impact. Certainly they had not made the public, even the Republican public, excited about the race.

The obvious beneficiary, or potential beneficiary, of the public's attitude toward Mr. Carter, Mr. Reagan and their contest should have been Rep. Anderson. The Illinois congressman's independent candidacy was launched last spring after it became clear he was getting nowhere in the contest for the Republican nomination.

But a very poorly run campaign, which scattered its energies nationally instead of first building in areas of strength like Massachusetts, Connecticut, Oregon and Wisconsin, plus the rebuffs of the Carter campaign, diminished him. Then, when he failed to make an impact during the Baltimore debate — finding Mr. Reagan a

smooth, testing combatant — his last best hope was gone. Still, he remained a factor in the election, not only with his scornful "What's to spoil?" rejoinder to questions about whether his candidacy had any other real function, but because in close states he seemed to be tipping one toward Mr. Carter, another toward Mr. Reagan, though on balance he seemed to be helping his old Republican Party the most.

As the campaign entered its final days, Mr. Carter had not developed a compelling way to discuss the failure of his 1976 promises to reduce unemployment, inflation and interest rates. But neither had Mr. Reagan made his remedy, three years of 10 percent federal income tax cuts, seem like much more than politics as usual.

On foreign policy, Mr. Reagan seemed to tap the yearnings of an electorate that felt the United States should attain military superiority over the Soviet Union, and be, once again, respected abroad. But Mr. Carter bore in on the ambivalences in that desire with his warnings that pursuing an arms lead, and scrapping the SALT-2 treaty, as Mr. Reagan promised, could lead to war.

The Cleveland debate, the hostages, and a final jabbing reminder that inflation has not been capped (the last Consumer Price Index before Election Day recorded double-digit, 12.7 percent annual inflation) together may not have made this an exciting election, but they insured it would remain an uncertain one.

Adam Clymer, New York Times political correspondent, wrote this article for the International Herald Tribune.

Food

Private Restaurant in Peking

By Paul Loong

United Press International
ING — Good food and private business are quietly being in a narrow, dusty alley-

ther, anxious about the future of two unemployed sons, her own restaurant. It is a privately run restaurant in nearly two decades.

pt for a brief period in the 1960s when small private restaurants made an appearance, all ants in the capital had been d by the government since munist regime was estab- in 1949. Recent economic s have lifted some of the re- on "individual economy" ate business.

as a humble beginning for ain, 47, mother of five and stor of a three-table estab- t that occupies what once family's living room.

Liu said it took 1,100 yuan to set up the shop. Her hus- orrowed from his employer, d some savings and the bank her half the necessary capi- diture.

it took Mrs. Liu six s of wrangling with govern- ed tape before she finally l the eatery at No. 47

[Jade Flower] Hutong, said she decided to open her restaurant because her two st sons had waited for two or the government to assign obs. She now is formally employer, paying each a y wage amounting to \$27.

le, the walls have been whitewashed, the tables d with new white plastic

The floor is bare concrete, ire room bathed in the pale f a neon light. The refrigera- yet to arrive. The restaura- said she cooks more than 70 at courses, including such items as bear paws and r's oasts. Her specialty is made in eight different ways, ns who squeeze through row doorway into the room ve to stand and eat because scarcity of tables.

the place is drawing "Two hundred people ate today," Mrs. Liu said on ond day of business. "An- 00 bought takeout orders."

, a main dish and rice cost s at her place, and usually e than 60 cents at a bigger, n establishment.

ity official said there are applications for private res- s. He said a decision will be a those soon.

The London Stage

There Is Little to 'Enjoy'

By Sheridan Morley

International Herald Tribune

LDON — Way back in the te 1950s, when Harold was still writing reviews and Cook just starting to do so, was a curious fashion for sketches in which a cou- sually played by Kenneth us and Penelope Fiddling

discuss the relative futility f lives, the need for wall-to- rpeting and the possibility re being either a God or a bus service nearby.

omes however as something rock 20 years later to find a ight who gave us, in "Forty On," the finest postwar y of the British theater and, e Old Country," a spy dra- mance intelligence, now

back to those ancient revues o search of a new script. that, alas, is what he has His "Enjoy" (at the Vande- appears to have been cobbled r from lines overheard on transport, and is played by Blakely and Joan Plowright

nd of weary vaudeville dou- which suggests they may right for Noel Coward's "ppers." In a note attached

Faber paperback edition of y (which I read in the vain hat my ears had deceived Bennett suggests that his have in the past been "al- and improved in rehearsal" epects that the same thing

have happened again. It and more's the pity.

Breathing Relics idea here would seem to be ple reverse of that in Peter s many comedies: nostalgia destructive force. Memory losed for repair, and an eld- ple living in the last back- t of a Leeds slum about oved to a human museum

they can be admired as ing relics of a bygone age. social workers who invade ving room as observers are, ve understood Bennett cor- the playwrights and journal- s tele-interviewers and other

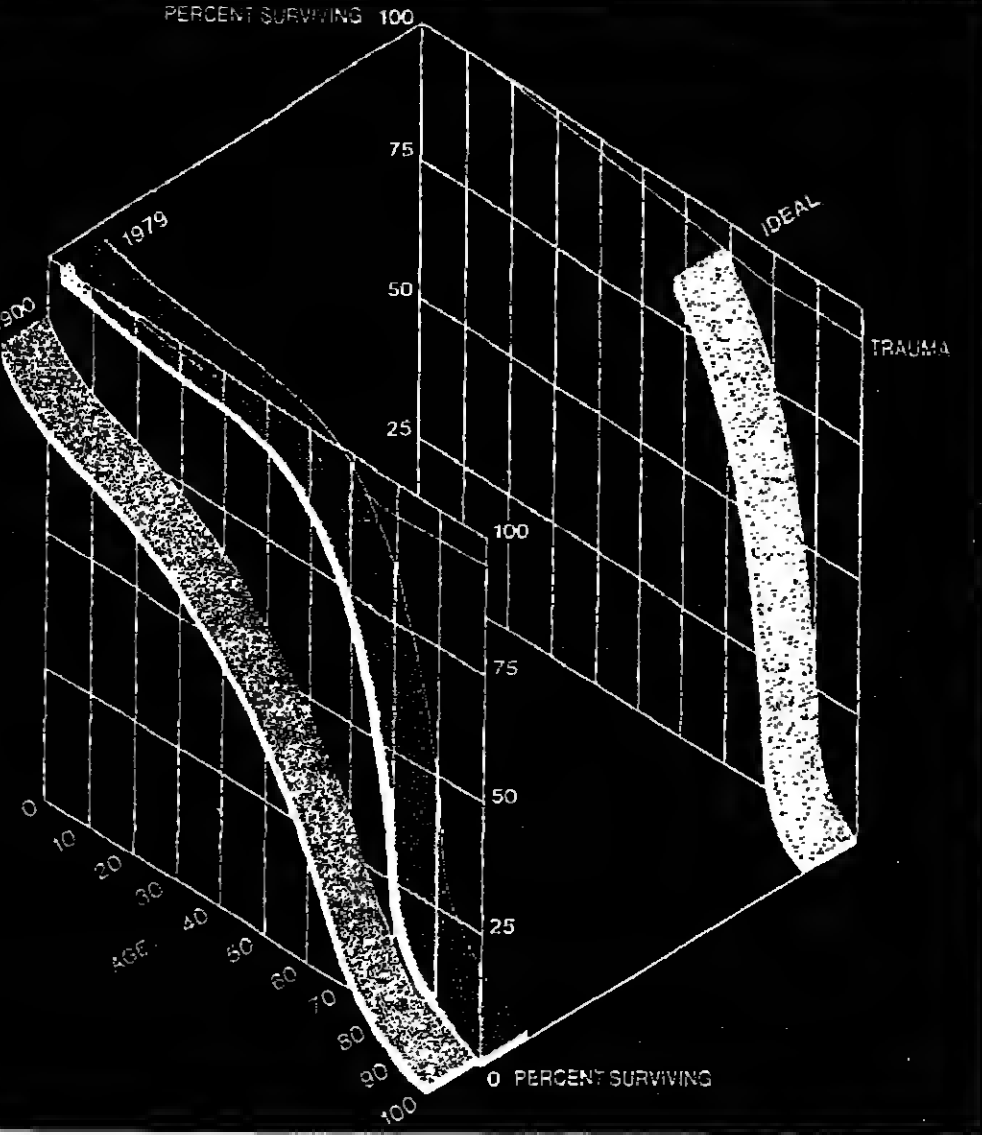
ies who seem to believe our island past may be leatory clues to our bleak But all of that was said, imirably said, in the closing ts of the headmaster's fare- eech in "Forty Years On,"

och about tying the old id flats, and desolation at 15 becoming a view.

One-Liners across 24 endless hours, some good if random one- "Our toilet was pre-grant, it ut of our own pocket") and merving vision of a play- desperately signaling that

Trends in Life Expectancy

The trend in human life expectancy discernible in the American population today is called a "squaring" of the survival curve as it flattens at the top and drops sharply, showing a concentration of deaths in old age. In the graphs shown in three-dimensional form at the right, the percent of population surviving at any age is on the vertical scale, while age is represented on the horizontal. The shape of the curve has changed dramatically since 1900, when it had a gradual slope, indicating that many deaths occurred at all ages from infectious diseases, accidents and other injuries and, for those who survived to late middle age, chronic ailments, such as heart disease. Today the slope takes a much more rectangular form, as early death from infection has been largely eliminated. The prospect for the future is an even more rectangular curve with very few deaths, except from injury through late middle age. Most deaths will be concentrated in the 80's and 90's.



The New York Times, source James Fries/The New England Journal of Medicine

Science

U.S. Life-Span Research Indicates Healthier Old Age

By Harold M. Schmeck Jr.

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In the not-too-distant future, some experts now believe, there will be few deaths in youth or middle age and most of the elderly will have vigorous good health almost to the end, at age 85, give or take a few years.

The picture is somewhat like that in Aldous Huxley's novel "Brave New World," in which people do not fall victim to heart disease or arthritis and sink into elderly invalidism, but continue to be vigorous through middle age and then deteriorate abruptly and die.

Today a strong trend of this sort is already taking place, according to Dr. James Fries of Stanford University. His calculations show the generally attainable human life span at roughly 85 years, and that one population group — white women — is almost there now. On the average they die only seven years "prematurely," that is, before approximately 85. Further-

more, violent deaths account for three of those years. Racial minorities and men in general die earlier.

"Clearly," Dr. Fries said in an article in the New England Journal of Medicine, "the medical and social task of eliminating premature death is largely accomplished." He estimated that, under ideal conditions, 95 percent of Americans would die natural deaths between the ages of 77 and 93.

In his view the interaction between two important sets of observations has been ignored in most attempts to forecast health trends.

The first set consists of statistics demonstrating that humans are mortal and that the span of human life is fixed. The second set of observations shows that chronic disease can be postponed and that many of the functional deficits of old age can be modified, at least for a time.

Importance for Planning

Dr. Fries believes that this has an important bearing on planning for future medical care because of the predictions it allows concerning numbers and types of patients.

These predictions suggest that the number of very old persons will not increase, that the average period of diminished vigor will decrease, that chronic disease will occupy a smaller proportion of the typical life span and that the need for medical care in later life will decrease," he said.

His concept puts a great deal of the responsibility on the individual for getting the most out of his or her life span. In some respects, he said, a person virtually chooses how fast he or she will grow old.

Dr. Robert N. Butler, director of the National Institute on Aging, said he considers Dr. Fries' article an important synthesis but that his own estimate of the attainable human life span is greater by at least a decade or so.

The new view contradicts sharply the widely held picture of an ever older, ever more feeble population requiring ever more expensive and comprehensive medical care. However, Dr. Fries' thesis gives little comfort to those who believe they can live forever if they eat only yogurt and jog enough.

In a young adult, he notes, the functional capacity of human organs is between four and 10 times that needed to sustain life. From about the age of 30 onward this reserve capacity diminishes steadily and inexorably. The person who survives diseases and accidents into extreme old age will lose virtually all of this reserve capacity, so

that the slightest perturbation or extra stress will be fatal.

Indeed, the death rate doubles every eight years after the age of 30, Dr. Fries said. The greatest human longevity that has been thoroughly documented was a Japanese who lived to be 114.

Changing Statistics

Health statistics show a big difference between 1900 and 1980 in the percentage of people surviving disease and accidents to live into middle age, but little increase in remaining life expectancy for persons over 40 and almost no additional increase for those over 75.

Some of the reasons are well-known. When this century began, the main causes of death were infectious diseases, notably tuberculosis, acute rheumatic fever, smallpox, diphtheria, tetanus, polio and bacterial pneumonia.

"Each of these now causes less than 2 percent of the health problems that it caused in 1900," said Dr. Fries. Today physical injury is the dominant cause of death in the early years and chronic disease takes over thereafter.

By the age of 85, heart disease causes three-fourths of all deaths; cancer and accidents most of the rest. Yet heart disease has also been declining, for reasons that are not entirely clear, but believed to be related to lifestyle. Among the probable reasons in the view of some experts are lower consumption of saturated fats, more exercise, better control of high blood pressure and decreases in cigarette smoking, in spite of increased smoking among teen-agers.

Dr. Fries said the downward trend in heart disease deaths is the first such downturn in any major category of chronic disease. He said it is a plausible prediction that some forms of cancer may also be diminished through such trends as decrease in cigarette consumption.

American life expectancy, a population's average length of life, has gone from approximately 47 years in 1900 to 73 years today. Though life expectancy has risen greatly, the evidence points strongly to a finite life span, defined as the biological limit.

Dr. Fries said, however, that available data are at least compatible with a slowly increasing life span as well as life expectancy. If such an increase is occurring, it appears to be no more than a month or so per century. Some other scientists argue, on the basis of animal experiments and other evidence, that human life span can be prolonged deliberately, but Dr.

Fries' conclusions depend on already observable trends.

The evidence, he said, argues that most of the invalidism of old age can be eliminated by postponing it and that some aspects of aging in an individual can be manipulated by lifestyle. There are great individual variations in the rate of biological aging and such things as physical vigor can be prolonged by habitual exercise, he said. He suggested that the same is true of mental vigor and memory, but that each faculty requires its own separate exercise.

Dr. Fries said that disability occurring at later ages will become increasingly unavoidable, which might be a source of anguish in others. The scientist stressed that he does not favor euthanasia, but suggested less effort to keep patients alive when all hope is gone.

Reaction to "Holocaust"

Green is also interested in archaeology, and was the first one to do a big documentary for NBC in 1972 on the Tasaday Stone Age tribe in the Philippines. But people know him best for "Holocaust" and keep asking him questions about it, which both fascinates and, by now, slightly irritates him.

"Mostly people tell me they loved it. Those who hate it don't come and tell me. I find out about it." Look, this argument could go on forever. All I know is that after "Holocaust" (which reached millions in the United States and West Germany), the Bundestag removed the 30-year statute of limitations for capital crimes, which would have allowed undetected Nazi war criminals to escape prosecution after Dec. 31, 1979. I could give you a hundred examples. I hate to use a cliché, but it's the bottom line that counts.

"Holocaust" has often been criticized for being a melodrama or worse, a soap opera, and there, Green said, "I fully agree with what the critics said. It was not nearly as painful as the reality. But this program basically was not de-

vised for the people who knew about it. It was for those who didn't."

Green, who has not been to Paris in many years, strongly feels that the showing of "Holocaust" here (which he said took some doing, and "I know Simone Veil had a lot to do with it") may account for what he calls "the very healthy, very positive reaction of the French at all levels" to the recent bombing of the synagogue in Rue Copernic (which his children attended when he lived here). "I really think that the healthy reaction of 100,000 people demonstrating against anti-Semitism was partly due to 'Holocaust.'"

Otherwise, Green defines himself as "a writer who is Jewish, and not a Jewish writer, as against [Isaac Bashevis] Singer, for instance."

"Through my experience with 'Holocaust,'" he added, cracking a last joke, "you put two Jews in a room and you have three synagogues."

Television

Author of 'Holocaust' Sees Benefits in Show

By Hebe Dorsey

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — You would not expect the man who wrote "Holocaust," the controversial U.S. television series on the genocide of European Jewry, to crack weak Jewish jokes, such as: "Do you know the story of the guy who went to a little Jewish tailor on the Lower East Side and asked: 'Do you want to buy an elephant? It's only \$100.' The tailor got mad. 'Why should I want to buy an elephant? Get out of here.' 'Wait a minute,' the guy insisted, 'what about two elephants for \$100.' Said the tailor: 'Now, you're talking.'"

Gerald Green has not one but dozens of Jewish jokes he can tell, then dismiss with a low-keyed sentence such as, "You know, a lot of it is gallows humor."

In Paris on his honeymoon — widowed a year ago, he remarried earlier this month — Green said he has always been a writer. One of his earliest books, "The Last Angry Man," was about his father, a Jewish doctor in Brooklyn. One of his latest, "My Son, the Jock," is about his son (he has three grown-up children), an accomplished athlete who is a tennis instructor in Miami. Like many intellectuals, Green is in awe of athletes and thinks his son, David, 24, is "marvelous."

Occasional Journalist

In between, Green, who graduated from the Columbia University School of Journalism, has been an occasional journalist. "I lived in Paris from 1964 to '67 and did some work for NBC News." But mainly, he has been writing "all my life." That includes travel books, such as "The Portofino PTA," when he was living in Italy with his family, and a picaresque novel, "Mummy's Men," which is about the first black regiment in the U.S. Army.

He has just finished a television series on Kent State and is working on an adaptation of "O Jerusalem," the Collins-Lapierre best-seller, which will be produced by Herbert Brodwin, who also produced "Holocaust."

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Arizona Researcher Breeds 'Pickleloupe'

United Press International

MESA, Ariz. — A cantaloupe that looks and tastes like a pickle has been developed by a University of Arizona agricultural researcher. Dr. Robert Foster, who calls them "pickleloupes,"

Since cucumbers for pickling do not tolerate Arizona's heat, pickleloupes might be an answer for the state's small pickle industry, Foster said. The pickleloupe combines characteristics of a pickle, but without a bumpy surface.

Dr. Robert N. Butler, director of the National Institute on Aging, said he considers Dr. Fries' article an important synthesis but that his own estimate of the attainable human life span is greater by at least a decade or so.

The new view contradicts sharply the widely held picture of an ever older, ever more feeble population requiring ever more expensive and comprehensive medical care. However, Dr. Fries' thesis gives little comfort to those who believe they can live forever if they eat only yogurt and jog enough.

In a young adult, he notes, the functional capacity of human organs is between four and 10 times that needed to sustain life. From about the age of 30 onward this reserve capacity diminishes steadily and inexorably. The person who survives diseases and accidents into extreme old age will lose virtually all of this reserve capacity, so

that the slightest perturbation or extra stress will be fatal.

Indeed, the death rate doubles every eight years after the age of 30, Dr. Fries said. The greatest human longevity that has been thoroughly documented was a Japanese who lived to be 114.

Changing Statistics

Health statistics show a big difference between 1900 and 1980 in the percentage of people surviving disease and accidents to live into middle age, but little increase in remaining life expectancy for persons over 40 and almost no additional increase for those over 75.

Some of the reasons are well-known. When this century began, the main causes of death were infectious diseases, notably tuberculosis, acute rheumatic fever, smallpox, diphtheria, tetanus, polio and bacterial pneumonia.

"Each of these now causes less than 2 percent of the health problems that it caused in 1900," said Dr. Fries. Today physical injury is the dominant cause of death in the early years and chronic disease takes over thereafter.

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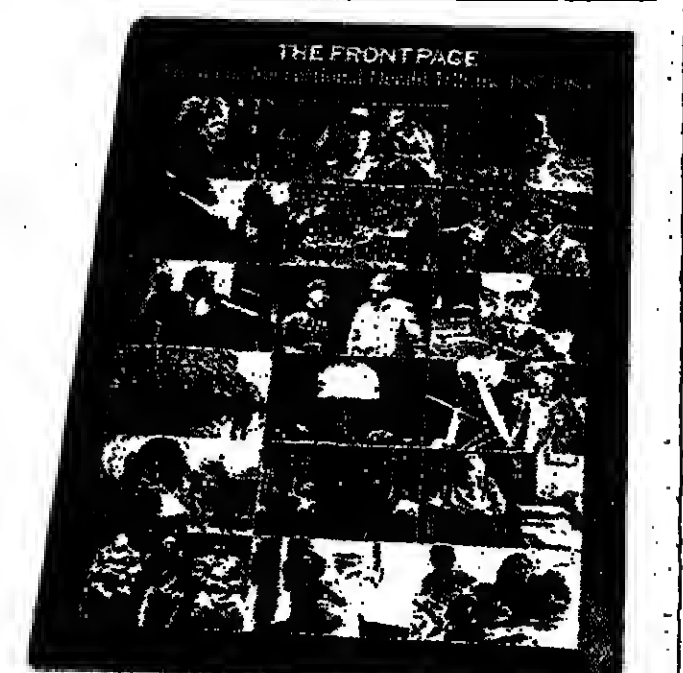
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(Continued on Page 10)

BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

U.S. to Make Hyundai Public Corporation

U.S. — The South Korean government has reversed its ruling that the Hyundai Industrial Co. can take over Hyundai International Inc., the U.S.'s largest heavy industrial company, it was disclosed here today.

Commerce and Industry Minister Suh Suk-Joon said that Hyundai would become a public corporation. The decision was reversed after the company failed to obtain the capital to operate Hyundai, the minister said.

U.S. to Buy 38% of Queensland Coal Deal

U.S. — The U.S. government said Wednesday that it will acquire 38 percent of the Queensland Coal Deal, a joint venture between the U.S. and Australia to develop coal mines in Queensland, Australia.

The deal, which was announced last month, calls for the U.S. to acquire 38 percent of the deal, while the Australian government would acquire the remaining 62 percent.

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Minimum Industry Expansion Set in Gulf

Gulf — Gulf countries plan a massive expansion of their oil industry under a new long-term strategy agreed this week, Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, head of research and project studies said Wednesday.

Chrysler Reports Loss of \$490 Million

U.S. — Chrysler Corp. today reported a third-quarter loss of \$490 million, bringing its year-to-date loss to \$1.7 billion for the three-month period.

U.K. Manufacturers Urge 25% Cut in Interest Rates

U.K. — British industrialists Wednesday published what they said was their blackest survey of the country's economy and called for an immediate cut in interest rates.

Yen Use Urged As a Reserve

Tokyo — A leading Japanese expert on international monetary affairs said Japan should recognize the role of the yen as a reserve currency and facilitate the diversification of oil producing nations' assets in off-market transactions.

Canada to Cut Foreign Energy Ownership

Ottawa — The government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, trying to head off a threatened crisis with the Western provinces, has introduced a new energy program that attempts to placate those provinces at the expense of the private, mostly U.S.-owned oil industry.

FCC Eases Decision on Deregulation

U.S. — The Federal Communications Commission, adjusting its landmark ruling of last April to deregulate portions of the telecommunications industry, has come up with an approach that apparently satisfies two of the biggest competitors.

Plan Aimed at Soothing Provinces

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DIETHELM & CO. AG

Lloyd's, Governed by Gentleman, Seeks Ruling Council

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

ON — On Nov. 4, while voters in the United States are choosing a president, another electorate — more elite, but also with serious business at stake — will assemble in London's cavernous Royal Albert Hall.

There, in the seats usually occupied by aristocrats and prizefighters, hand-picked members of the 18,500 members of Lloyd's, the venerable insurance society, will meet. The rest of the members, almost 1,200 of whom are Americans, will be represented by proxy.

It is no doubt, as the society's chairman, Peter Foden-Pattinson, said in a speech in the United States early this month, "that Lloyd's, of late, has been experiencing a period of change."

Many of the financial institutions in the City of London, Lloyd's has been governed for decades by a group of gentlemen's agreements and shared assumptions. It has been overseen by a democratically elected but relatively weak committee of its members, fearful of intrusions by government, wary of a series of recent crises, it is seeking parliamentary approval for an entirely new system of administration.

New Council

Members of the members agree, and Mr. Green associates expect them to do so. Parliament is asked to pass a bill establishing a new council. It will be composed of 16 working members, 6 members who are not actively in the insurance business, and 3 persons who are members of Lloyd's at all, nominated by the and approved by the governor of the Bank of England.

For the first time, members who live overseas will be able to vote by mail — for the external representation of the council; total outsiders will have a voice, minority one, in Lloyd's affairs, and the leadership of the society will have wide powers of discipline.

The new program provides the kind of leadership Lloyd's, whose annual premium income is about \$5 billion, has lacked in recent years.



'The Room' at Lloyd's of London

"It can't be any worse," said Peter Foden-Pattinson, an outspoken underwriter who formerly served as Lloyd's deputy chairman. "We allowed events to overtake us during the tremendous expansion of the last 10 years. We had to grow to keep our place in the world, but we failed to foresee the problems that that would cause."

"In the old days," he continued, "the chairman could call someone in and tell him, 'you've been a naughty boy,' and be sure there would be no repetition. Now the chap is likely to say, 'according to whom?' And we have no ability to regulate without going through the most horrendous, time-wasting process."

"Right now," Mr. Foden-Pattinson said, "I'm involved in trying to sort out a dispute. It has taken a

year, and meanwhile the chap's reputation is left dangling. Intolerable."

The visitor to "the room" at Lloyd's — a vast arena a little larger than a football field, with underwriters clustered around upright desks, talking and poring over papers — sees continuity more than change. The red-coated "waiters," or ushers, are still there. The Lutine Bell still rings to herald good news or bad. The loss of ships at sea — many of them, this month, in the Shatt-al-Arab waterway between Iran and Iraq — is still recorded in his ledgers with quill pens.

But there have been a number of distressing incidents leading up to the Fisher inquiry and next month's Albert Hall meeting. First came the loss of the "butter mountain" in the Netherlands, when a warehouse burned down, destroying \$14-million

worth of butter that Lloyd's had not thought was all in the same place. A nasty dispute arose between the brokers and underwriters.

A similar disagreement broke out over the loss of a shipload of Fiat cars en route from Italy to the United States, in which the broker seemed to some members of Lloyd's to be less than zealous in protecting his clients' interests.

In the United States, which accounts for more than half of Lloyd's business, the society has suffered a series of highly publicized losses. The decision of President Carter to boycott the Moscow Olympics cost Lloyd's, which had insured the television contract of NBC, about \$85 million. Insurance on computer leasing contracts of the troubled Intel Corp. of San Francisco cost \$340 million, a record. Structural shortcomings in three liquid natural gas tankers built in Louisiana, whose tanks could not pass Coast Guard inspection, will probably cost about \$300 million.

Losses are part of the insurance business, and Lloyd's has grown, in part, because it has insured satellites, oil rigs and Hovercraft when others feared to, and because it has developed policies providing coverage against new hazards such as pollution damage or nuclear accidents.

"Perhaps we should have taken more advice on some of these policies," said Mr. Foden-Pattinson, "particularly on the computer-leasing business, which was our biggest net loss ever. But we are risk-takers. Insurance is a controlled form of gambling."

\$315-Million Profit in 1977

Mr. Green, in a speech at an insurance conference in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., noted that even after deducting \$300 million as a reserve for anticipated losses on computer-leasing insurance, Lloyd's had a profit of \$315 million in 1977, the most recent year for which figures are available under a three-year accounting system.

That was the second-highest profit in the society's history, exceeded only by the \$324 million (at present rates of exchange) earned in 1975. In only three years since World War II — 1965, 1966 and 1967 — has the society suffered a loss.

"So much for the prophets of doom who were predicting a cataclysm," scoffed Mr. Green, "without, I am afraid, appreciating the underlying strength of the Lloyd's market."

Nor is Lloyd's overly concerned with its new U.S. competition — the New York Insurance Exchange, which opened April 1, and others planned for Illinois and Florida. The New York operation began with only 13 underwriting syndicates, compared with 225 in London, and there is no expectation on either side of the Atlantic that New York will catch up — not in this century, at least.

FCC Eases Deregulation Ruling

(Continued from Page 9)
computer processing and will not be regulated.

However, it dropped its March 1, 1982, deadline for forcing AT&T, GTE and 1,500 smaller telephone companies to separate the cost of all their "customer premises equipment" — such as telephones or PBXs — from the cost of service. The deadline will apply only to new equipment installed for customers after then.

Many state regulatory agencies warned the FCC that the changes were too much too soon, and could force large rate increases by local telephone companies that could no

longer rely on revenues from leasing the terminal equipment.

Tom McCarthy, GTE's vice president for public affairs at the company's headquarters in Stamford, Conn., expressed pleasure with the decision.

"This decision eliminates the requirement that GTE set up a separate subsidiary for selling and leasing most of its telephone equipment, and appears to be responsive to the arguments presented by GTE to the commission this summer," he said. "If so, this should enable us to be competitive in the telephone equipment area."

THE LAIRD GROUP LIMITED

HAS ACQUIRED THE ASSETS OF

NEW YORK TWIST DRILL Corporation

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CITICORP INTERNATIONAL GROUP
OCTOBER 1980

COMPANY REPORTS

Revenue, Profits in Millions. In local currencies, unless otherwise indicated

Southwest Elec. Ind. Co.

1980 1979

Revenue 723.34 605.75

Profits 31.40 26.25

1980 1979

Revenue 2,094 1,714

Profits 89.43 70.28

in millions.

States

1980 1979

Revenue 1,480 1,800

Profits 32.3 74.8

1980 1979

Revenue 5,050 5,370

Profits 65.2 237.1

1980 1979

Revenue 1,670 1,620

Profits 92.6 86.1

1980 1979

Revenue 5,720 4,520

Profits 369.7 241.3

1980 1979

Revenue 4,44 2.90

1980 1979

Revenue 894.0 680.0

Profits 33.7 42.6

1980 1979

Revenue 1,30 1.64

Profits 2,500 1,900

1980 1979

Revenue 130.4 119.6

Profits 5.03 4.62

1980 1979

Revenue 1,470 721.5

Profits 1,670 1,620

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Profits 369.7 241.3

1980 1979

Revenue 4,4

Art Buchwald

There's No Reprieve, Go in There and Vote

WASHINGTON — The sun was just rising over the horizon when McNally heard the shuffle of feet. There were four men, including a minister who was reading the Bible.

"Okay, McNally, it's Nov. 4. It's time to vote."

"Any word from the governor?" McNally asked.

"No, there doesn't seem to be any chance of a pardon. You're going to have to go into the booth and pull the switch."

"I don't want to do it," McNally said. "I'm innocent. Why do I have to vote?"

"We're sorry. But we are only here to take you to the booth."

The minister came in. "McNally, it's God's will. We will all pray for you. Is there any last word of comfort I can offer you before you go into the polling station?"

"Why me, Father? I've been a good man. I worked hard. I never did anything to hurt anybody. Why do I have to vote?"

"Everyone has to vote sooner or later. Go bravely, my son. It won't take long to pull the lever, and then it will all be over."

"I'm scared, Father. I've never been so frightened in my life."

"We're all frightened of the un-

known, my son. But try to think of it as taking a nice journey into a beautiful country that you have never seen before. Imagine that you will be reunited with all the loved ones who have voted before you. Pray with me."

One of the men said, "Come on, McNally. You're just stalling for time. We gave you what you wanted for dinner, and let you order anything for breakfast. We have to get the show on the road."

"Can I see my wife before I vote?"

"I won't do any good. She can't help you now. Nobody can help you."

"I won't go. You can't make me go."

"McNally, you can either walk into the voting booth or we can drag you there kicking and screaming. Which way is it going to be?"

"Okay, I'll go, but somebody you're going to find out you got the wrong man to vote and it will be on your conscience forever."

Two men walked on each side of McNally as the minister read from his Bible.

Other men along voters' row shouted at him.

"Good luck, McNally. We'll see you soon."

The group arrived at the green door.

By this time McNally was perspiring and shaking. One of the men opened the door and McNally saw the forbidding booth. A man was making the final adjustments on the voting machine.

A registrar was seated at a desk. He checked off McNally's name.

"Maybe the governor has pardoned me and we don't know it," McNally said.

The man in charge said, "We've been in touch with his office and he says there is no reprieve. You're going to have to vote."

Two men took McNally by his arms and shoved him into the booth. They pulled the green curtain behind him. They could only see his legs, which were quivering.

Suddenly there was a scream from behind the curtain.

McNally had pulled the lever for one of the three presidential candidates, and his scream would be remembered by everyone in the room for the rest of their lives.

Author Tom Sharpe: The Wit and the Fury

By Geraldine Pluennel

International Herald Tribune

BRIDPORT, England — Two

days after the news of the

arrest of Soviet dissident Andrei

Sakharov broke last January,

English novelist Tom Sharpe

quietly canceled the imminent Soviet

publication of his best-selling

fictional novel.

Sharpe disclosed his protest

action sitting at his dining room

table here on a gray October

afternoon. Then he sat silent, and

stared past the back deck toward

his rose garden. A big, rangy

man at 52 with neatly combed

sand-and-white hair, a former

schoolteacher and Royal Marine,

Sharpe was jailed and later

deported from South Africa in 1961

for opposing the government's

apartheid policies.

He branded me a Communist,

an assessment duly regis-

tered in CIA files. In his four-

page letter to the Moscow pub-

lisher breaking off negotiations,

Sharpe wrote, "I will not allow

my novels to be used as propa-

ganda by a government which re-

fuses its own citizens the free-

doms I take for granted in this

country."

Immense Following

Sharpe's eight hilarious, hawdy

angry novels have won him an

immense following in Britain,

Germany and Australia and the

praise of London publishing

clubs and the funniest writer in

years. Yet he is almost unknown

in the United States except for a

tiny, dedicated cult, although all

his books have been under op-

eration by the U.S. Film Board.

Six still are his ninth, and possibly most

filmmakers. "Ancestral Vices" will

be published in Britain Nov. 5.

Sharpe has been compared to

P.G. Wodehouse, with whom he

corresponded and, Evelyn Wa-

gnan. Sharpe demurs. "Wa-

gnan used a rapier. My method is

a hatchet." Sharpe's humor mirrors

a world that is falling apart, a

new one of organized bureaucrat-

ical and ideological terror. He

frowns at his glass of gin. "Yeah

—after Auschwitz, what is com-

edy?"

Tom Sharpe strides through

the landscape of his mind exam-

ining the horrors and absurdities



"My method is a hatchet."

and pretensions of a threatening

world. His macabre violence is so

unreal that to an extent it defuses

the threats. His first two books,

"Riotous Assembly" and "Indec-

ent Exposure," satirized South

Africa. "Porterhouse Blues," later

ones, everything from the British

establishment and terrorists to

the trendy left and writing itself.

All make a force of sex — the

modern world's ultimate threat.

Sharpe's scenes of sexual misen-

tertainment reach the zany comic

heights of Laurel and Hardy or

Marx Brothers films.

Sharpe suspects his mayhem

has spilled over as a reaction to

overeducation at the finest Eng-

lish prep schools and at Cam-

bridge. Ten years in South Africa

followed — working with blacks

for the government, teaching,

running a photography studio.

His photos are an eloquent state-

ment on the effects of racism.

During this time he wrote nine

plays, of which the sole sample to

reach the stage — a London

theatre production — led to his

expulsion.

In 1969, with a new bride,

Nancy, from North Carolina,

and a job in Cambridge teaching

"Candida" to classes of plaster-

ers and butchers, he sat down to

write a short story. It suddenly

seized command and "wrote it-

self." "Riotous Assembly" bubb-

led out, 105,000 words written

longhand in 21 days, a mad race

against racism. Sharpe didn't con-

demn the system. He simply

"stated it" — with exquisite com-

ic timing. He had gotten the idea

when a friend's great aunt

phoned the neighboring police

station and asked if they couldn't

do something to stop the scream-

ing because she couldn't get to

sleep in the afternoon. "I didn't

set out to lambast South Africa.

But that's what happened," said

the writer.

In a BBC interview one liter-

ary editor sniffed that Sharpe

seemed to view himself as an in-

tellectual Tom and Jerry and that

his humor had gone over the top.

Sharpe shakes his head. "The

horror in the humor comes from

the fact that it is not over the

top." He plays with absurdity,

not messages. The anger is im-

plicit. "It's a question of making

people laugh, because at the end

of the day you've got to earn a

living. You write to write. At

least I do." He recalled, "A Ger-

man I met who read 'Riotous

Assembly' said, 'I stopped laugh-

ing before the end. I suddenly re-

alized, Christ, this is real.'"

In a scenario that rivals his

novels, Tom was born to a 58-

year-old Unitarian minister who

became a Nazi and staunch sup-

porter of William Joyce, Lord

Shaw Haw, before World War II.

Sharpe once told a Cambridge

synagogue congregation, "I think

I can say with perfect confidence

that I am the only person in this

room who at the age of 15 had

the ambition of being an SS

man."

One of his books, "The Thro-

back," is really a story of the

unmaking of a fascist. Sharpe

said, "His father died in 1944, be-

fore Tom's world fell apart when

he saw the Negro-Belgian atroci-

ties, then Dachau as a Marine.

"It explains, I think, my

fury against racism of any sort

... of the danger of The Idea,

of any ideology ... of Hitler,

Hegel, Carlyle." A theme of in-

dividual liberty threads through his

books. He was over a Communist

friend, he says, sure, Communist

friends, "but I never joined."

The novelist sought out his

publisher, Secker and Warburg,

because they published Thomas

Mann and Andre Gide. Sharpe

deplores the deadening sterility

Fat and Slim

Perhaps his funniest book,

"Wilt," a study of the tech school

mentality dedicated to his classes

of butchers, "Meat One," is dom-

inated by a fat female, Eva. "I'm

always being accused of being a

male chauvinist pig because all

my ladies happen to be fat. I

tend to like them like that —

I'm not sure the dichotomy be-

tween the sexes fully exists. One

aspect of me is exactly

Eva. ... In every woman there

is a man, in every man — a wom-

an."

"Isn't that my attitude, dear?"

he said, turning to petite, slender

Nancy.

Despite the sting of film op-

tions, Sharpe has not connected

in the United States. "I don't

market myself," he said. Neither

do his U.S. publishers. He shuns

TV interviews. Anyway, he is im-

probable. "I don't look like the

sort of person who writes my

books."

A damp wind rises from the

English Channel, three miles

away as Sharpe shows off his 4 1/2

acres of garden. He spends his

mornings writing in a tiny garden

shed, his afternoons with his

roses and digging. His youngest

of three daughters, 8-year-old

Mima, for Emma, bounds into a

greenhouse full of chatter. Then

he gestures at the rose beds.

"This is where I bury the horrors

of my mind."

As he closed his letter to the

Soviet publisher, Sharpe had

written, "I will withdraw my ob-

jection to having my novels pub-

lished if you will do one simple

thing: publish this letter in full

and without any alterations in

my expressed meaning in Rus-

sian in Literaturnaya Gazeta."

He had added a postscript by

hand, "I have delayed posting

this letter for a week to allow

myself time to consider its state-

ment. I have found no reason to

change my mind."

PEOPLE: British Papers Charge Hassan Snubbed Elizabeth

British newspapers charged that

Morocco's King Hassan II has

slandered, insulted and humiliated

Queen Elizabeth II and her hus-

band, Prince Philip, during their

state visit to his North African na-

tion. The newspapers said the 51-

year-old Moroccan monarch left

while he rested in his air-condi-

tioned trailer, delayed a state ban-

quet without telling the royal cou-

ple and wrangled with them over

seating arrangements. "She has

never been treated in this fashion

in all her 27 years on the throne —

never with such incivility," the

Daily Mail quoted one of the

queen's aides as saying. But Buck-

ingham Palace said the queen and

her husband were "perfectly con-

tented" with their 10-day tour of

North Africa and discounted re-

ports that she was angry. Senior

Moroccan government officials

said in Rabat that press comments

were "appalling exaggerated,"

but conceded that organization of

the trip was not all that it should

have been. "It has been a long

tour. The press may be tired and

may be irritated by changes in the

program and they attributed their

feelings of irritation to the queen."

said Mohammed VI, a cousin

sister at the Moroccan Embassy in

London. King Hassan accompa-

nied the royal visitors from Mar-

rakesh to Casablanca Wednesday;

they are scheduled to fly back to

Britain today.

Bee Gees producer Robert Stig-

wood has countered the pop mus-

ic trio for \$310 million. Stigwood,

an Australian, is suing the group

for libel, extortion, corporate defa-

mation, and breach of contract, a

spokeswoman for Stigwood Group

Ltd. said. "Stigwood took the

Gibbs (the Bee Gees) on as clients

and spent a fortune promoting

their careers," company President

Frederick Gershon said in a state-

ment accompanying the suit, filed

in New York State Supreme Court.

Robin, Andy and Maurice Gibb

filed a \$137 million lawsuit against

Stigwood Oct. 10. They claimed

Stigwood, their manager since

1967, and his myriad of companies

"maximized their own rewards

at the expense of the group."

Britain's most famous guide dog

for the blind has gone blind — and

now has a guide dog of her own.

Sheila Hocken, who wrote a widely

read book called "Emma and I"

about the 14 years Emma acted as

her eyes, noticed a few months ago

that the black Labrador was losing

her sight. "I set out a series of ob-

stacles to see how bad Emma's

eyes were, and she kept bumping

into things," said Mrs. Hocken,

whose own eyesight was restored

by an operation. So Mrs. Hocken,

34, found Bracken, another black

Labrador, and trained the second

dog to lead 16-year-old Emma

around the streets of Stapleford on

a leash. "Emma only has to bark

and Bracken comes running," Mrs.

Hocken says.

Anthony Hopkins and Robert

Fox are in Athens to work on the

Universal-CBS production of "Pe-

ter and Paul," a religious saga

about the founding of Christianity.

Hopkins will play Paul and Fox

will do Peter. ... Gene Kelly is

in Paris taping a television special

with French singer Mireille